



*The Honourable S^r JAMES SEY
Knight and Baronett Lord Cheife
Iustice of The Kinges Bench &c.
J. Payne sculp.*





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THE
INFALLIBLE
TRUE AND ASSV-
RED WITCH:

OR,
THE SECOND EDITION
OF THE TRYALL OF
WITCH-CRAFT.

SHEVVING THE RIGHT
AND TRUE METHODE OF
THE DISCOVERIE:

WITH A CONFUTATION OF
ERRONEOVS WAIES, CARE-
FULLY REVIEWED AND
more fully cleared and
Augmented.

By Iohn COTTE, Doctor in Physick.



LONDON,

Printed by I. E. for R. H. and are to be sold at the
the Grey-hound in Pauls Church-yard.

1625.

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LONDON,

Printed by J. A. for R. W. and are to be sold at the New
Church Lane, London.



The Printer to the Reader.



HE Author perceiuing his former Treatise or first edition thereof, either not diligently read, or not truly by many men vnderstood, he hath now by a second edition thereof offered more ease and light vnto such as are willing to search after truth, both by the addition of many things before omitted, as also by this plaine direction vnto all the most speciall points in the whole Treatise, as followeth,

The contents of the first Chapter.

1. *How Knowledge doth come vnto man.*
2. *How mans Knowledge is confined and limited.*

CHAP. II.

1. *That many things are hidden from the Knowledge of all men indifferently by the decree of God and Nature.*
2. *That many things are reuealed vnto the industrious learned, which are hidden from the slothfull and vnlearned.*

CHAP. III.

That Witchcraft cannot bee discovered or knowne, but by the common waies and meanes of all other Knowledge and discovery.

CHAP. IIII.

1. *The Knowledge and power of Spirits, how exceeding the Knowledge and power of man.*
2. *Good Spirits and euill Spirits how discerned.*

CHAP. V.

That the diuell doth and can worke alone without the association of a Witch.

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CHAP. VI.

1. *The Diuell associating with a Witch.*
2. *A Witch apparently discovered by the Conduct of the outward sense, and testimony thereof.*
3. *That the Diuell playeth the Iugler in many things, seeming to raise the dead, to transforme into Cats or Dogs or other Creatures, to present the same body in two distant places at the same time.*
4. *The difference betweene things meereely imagined or fancied, and things really offered vnto the outward sense truly discerned.*
5. *That which is supernaturall or spirituall, may be discovered by the outward sense.*
6. *How the counterfeite miracles of the diuell may be discerned from the true miracles of God.*

CHAP. VII.

1. *An assured Witch by euidence of reason conuincd.*
2. *All Spirits that are enquired at, are Diuels.*
3. *Witches may be detected by professedly undertaking, and upon promise or covenant performing reuelations and discoveries about the power and knowledge of man.*
4. *All men in whom the Diuell doth exercise supernaturall workes or miracles, or by Whom he doth utter supernaturall reuelations, are not simply therefore by necessary consequent of reason to be esteemed. Witches but wish some few considerations which therewith coniointed and dewly weighed may infallibly prooue their guilt thus: He that undertaketh reuelations or Workes which are truly found supernaturall, and cannot either prooue them to be of God, nor to be imposture, nor to be imposed upon him by the Diuell without his Will, allowance, and liking thereof, that man by certaine Demonstration is a Witch or Sorcerer. What Witchcraft is, manifestly described.*

CHAP. VIII.

1. *The diuers kinds and manners wherein Witches receive knowledge from spirits, as Astrologers, as Wizards, as Phisitions.*

That the Diuell can both inflict diseases, and cure where God permitteth.

CHAP. IX.

That since Imposters doe counterfeit Witches, and under colour of imposture, Witches may hide their discovery, it is fit that diligently the Magistrate inquire into Imposters.

CHAP. X.

1. *Whether the diseased are bewitched, when and how it is certainly to be knowne, when not, and when men ought to rest satisfied in desiring satisfaction therein.*
2. *The markes of Witches vulgarly reported, and by oath deposed to be found in their bodies, how to be tried and knowne from all naturall diseases, among which many are very like vnto them.*
3. *The necessitie of consulting with the Physitian not only therein, but in all diseases supposed to be inflicted by the Diuell.*
4. *How farre the vulgarly esteemed confession of a supposed Witch is of validitie to prooue her a Witch.*

CHAP. XI.

That Witches maybe produced vnto the barre of Iustice two waies, first for manifest workes of Sorcery witnessed by the sense: secondly, for reuelations about the possibility and power of man.

CHAP. XII.

1. *Presumption and probabilities against suspected Witches.*
2. *That Witchcraft is a sinne or crime which ought to be detected by testimony and by manifestation thereof to sense or reason.*

CHAP. XIII.

That men ought not to seeke the discovery of Witches by unwarranted meanes void of reason, or superstitious.

CHAP. XIV.

Casting Witches into the water, scratching, beating, whether any allowed triall of a Witch.

CHAP. XV.

1. *That reuelations by the bewitched in their fits or trances are no sufficient prooffe against a Witch.*
2. *That the declaration by the bewitched of secret markes in the bodies of suspected Witches are not iustifiable to be admitted as any true or allowable convictions.*
3. *That the healing of the bewitched by the compelled touch or action*

action of the supposed witch is no reasonable accusation against any man, as therefore a Witch.

4. That there is no more necessity of a miraculous detection of witchcraft, then of any other as hideous and abominable sinne.

5. That the miracles and detections of crying and hideous sinnes by visions and apparitions cannot certainly or assuredly be manifested to be of God, and therefore simply in themselves, though revealing truth they are not to be trusted or credited alone, but so farre forth as they doe point vnto, or occasion iust and reasonable inquisition.

The conclusion of the Whole Treatise inferring the two sorts of manifest witches generally thorow the whole worke intended and by Demonstration made evident, to be the same, against whom the Law of God was directed, as also that there is no other triall of these witches, but the meanes and waies in this Treatise before mentioned.

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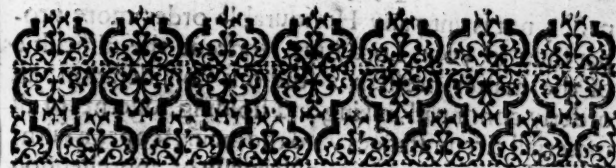
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TO THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE, SIR
JAMES LEY KNIGHT and
BARONET, Lord chiefe Iustice of
ENGLAND, and to the rest
of the Honourable, Right Reue-
rend and worthy Iudges.



RIGHT Honourable Lords ; I
formerly Dedicated a small
Treatise vnto the Honourable
Societie of the reuerend Iudges,
who then filled the awfull seates
of Law and Iustice. I aduen-
ture the second time to present
it, reuiewed, augmented, and cleared from some part
of that darknesse which haply hath hitherto clouded
it from bright acceptance. Information tending vnto
truths discouerie, though from the meanest wit or
person vnto your Lordships, cannot be vnacceptable,
whom Law doth make the Sentensers of Trueth ;
which is the Soule and Sentense of the Law. The
matter and subject propounded is not trifling or vn-
worthy, nor can be any disdaine vnto Noble great-
nesse ;

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nesse; nor is vnto any Honourable order more proper then to your Lordships. Indee the difficultie of the matter presseth a studious consideration, an orderly continuall linking and holding together of all materiall circumstances vnto the maine scope, a faithfull and strong memorie, quicknesse of apprehension and solide iudgement, but in the end vnto such as are industrious and desirous of Trueth, will yeeld a delightfull and thanke-worthy compensation thereof. I presume not to direct or prescribe, nor doe purposely oppose any other different opinion, but inoffensiuely tender my owne vnto the publique good, and hauing meerely deuoted it vnto truth, doe humbly submit it vnto your Lordships, the vowed Patrons of right and truth:

*Your Lordships in all humble
dutie and desire,*

JOHN COTTA.

To



TO
THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE S.
EDVVARD COKE Knight, Lord

chiefe Iustice of ENGLAND, one of the
Lords of His Maiesties most Honourable Priuie
Councell, and to the rest of the Honourable right
Reuerend and worthy Iudges.



Right Honourable Lords, where
according vnto the direction
of good lawes, gracious So-
ueraignes nobly rule, and
loyall Subiects freely obey,
there the Common-weale,
which is the common good
of both, produceth the most royall, happy and sta-
ble Monarchy. If euer any Kingdome hath beene
fortunate, to giue a true mirror and example of this
happinesse, this famous Island hath beene therein
incomparable, wherein so many puissant Monarchs,
succesfully swaying this Emperiall Diademe, ac-
cording vnto the ancient Lawes and Customes of

A

this

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

this Nation, haue so many hundredths of yeares gouerned this mighty people in peace and honour at home, and victoriously led them in triumphant warre abroad, as by the glorious trumpe of forreine and domestick fame and Historie is not obscure. The splendor of this truth, the iniurious asperſion of insufficiencie in our English lawes, cannot without shame or blushing guilt behold. Notwithstanding, ſince in ſome few things to bee wanting, was neuer as yet wanting in the moſt exquisite lawes, Policie and State that euer hath beene, and ſince the Law of God it ſelfe (though perfect in it ſelfe) through humane imperfection in the true perfection was neuer yet ſeene, giue mee leaue through all lawes and Countries in one particular to wonder at their generall defect. What Law or Nation in the detection of Witches, and Witchcraft, hath as yet euer appeared competent, or from iuſt exception exempt? How vncertaine are among all people differing iudgements? Some iudge no Witches at all, others more then too many, others too few by many, in ſo oppoſite extreames, ſo extremely oppoſite: I doe not preſume to preſcribe how a law may become more absolute or perfect, I onely labour & enquire to learne. Among many generall directions by different Authors, diuerſly publiſhed, concerning the perfecting of particular lawes, (as farre as perfection is poſſible vnto humane frailty) *Demosthenes* in his ſecond Oration againſt *Aristogiton*, in my thought doth ſeeme to equall (if not exceede) the moſt exquisite. Three things

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things saith he (as may be plainly out of the fore-named place collected) doe concurre vnto the vpright constitution of euery complete law, whereby it may be held sacred and inuiolate. The first is, that it be *εὐνομία μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, that is, that it be the ordinance and gift of God. Secondly, that it be *σοφίαν ἀνδρῶν*, that is, the sage and iudicious decree and counsell of the most wise and prudent. The third is, that it be *πᾶσι συνθήκεστις*, that is, the vniuersall consent of the whole state, Citie or countrey. Certainly, the true cause of the forementioned generall lamenesse, and confusion of Lawes in the proposed case of Witch-craft consisteth herein. First, for that men haue not as yet sufficiently searched the holy Scriptures to finde out that *εὐνομία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, that is, what is the ordinance of God therein. Secondly, for that men haue not seriously consulted with that wisdome and prudence, which by the light of nature and reason Almighty God hath left discoverable and allowed to be iustly and truly deemed, *σοφία φροῦδων ἀνδρῶν* that is, the sage counsell, determination and decree of the most iudicious, prudent and wise men.

When these two are met and are agreed; namely, the ordinance of God, and the vpright and sincere counsell of the most holy, prudent and wise men, purposely studied, and without superstition exercised therein: then will the happy harmony of all mens hearts become easily tunable thereto, which is, *πᾶσι συνθήκεστις*, that is, the common consent of Prince, People, and Countrey. Vnto this faire

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work and building of God: let it not seeme presumption, that I offer this my Moyrie of desire, and good will. I know that in this subiect, many ages of learned Authors, haue endlessly varied, many famous Writers haue bin branded with infamous errors, many excellent wits haue run themselues almost out of their wits, & those who haue best deserved, their trembling pens haue niggardly dropped, & timorously pointed out any fully, or firmly auouched certainty. It is notwithstanding no breach of rule of modesty, but my bounden duty, vnto the accomplishment and honour of truth, to adde whatsoever in my vtmost endeaouer may be conducible. Neither would my many conflicts, with difficulties in this kinde, hold me excused, if so oft spurred, or rather galled, by so frequent exercise, practise and conuersation, with persons in so diuers extraordinary manners afflicted, and supposed bewitched, it should awake no answerable dispatch or display therein. Let it then seeme no wonder, that a man (though lesse then the least among men) who hath not onely as studiously as others laboured the same particular, and as diligently therein obserued, but hath farre more happily bin fortunèd then others, with frequent matter, and occurrents worthy obseruation, and hath also beene more plentifully gratified with opportunitie, to enrich his vnderstanding with variery and worth of objects, instructing his reason, and confirming his experience: Let it seeme no wonder (I say) that a meane wit, thus beyond others furnished thereto, may aduenture amidst
so

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so many doubts and ambiguities, wherewith so many worthies haue been formerly intangled and perplexed, to auouch and prooue certainty, and demonstration. In this subiect of Witch-craft, by better meanes aduantaged, if beyond former times or Writers, I haue haply proposed a more direct and certaine Module and Methode of iudging therein, I doe not thereby arrogate vnto my selfe, but attribute vnto the meanes, nor derogate from others, whom if the like contingence of the same helps, had as freely and friendly affronted, and the like facilitie had opened as ready accessse, I acknowledge in the guilty sense of my owne exiguitie (whether in the outward beauty of words, or inward substance of vnderstanding) it had beene easie for any man to exceed with so good meanes this so euill meanenesse of my performance. Since then (Right Honourable Lords) the subiect it selfe, and a pertinent and peculiar vse therein, doe point vnto your Honours the propertie of this Dedication, vnto whose tribunall the Lawes of God and men appeale against that foule abominable sinne, let it not be censured pride or presumption, humbly to present vnto your Lordship that consideration and resolution which beyond my merit or desert, Occurrents haue freely administred vnto long-distracted meditation. If there may appeare therein ought aduancing truth, or seruiceable vnto the Common-weale, vouchsafe for those good respects, it may be gracious in your eyes, acceptable and worthy your noble fauours and protection,

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against the iniuries of aduerse obdurate custome,
ignorance, enuy, and the vulgar indignation of
common receiued and deceiued opinion. In the
meane season, my deuoted heart shall deuoutly
pray vnto Almighty God for your Lordships long
life, the multiplication of many happy daies, re-
doubled honour in your seruice of God, your King
and Countrey, and after this life, that life which
euer lasteth.

*Your Lordships, in the most humble desire,
and tender of his deuotious seruice and
obseruance.*

JOHN COTTA.

TO



To the Reader.

Ingenious Reader, in this subiect of Witch-craft which I here present vnto thee, thou art not ignorant, what obscuritie, difficultie, difference, contrarietie and contradiction hath among Authors and learned men in all ages arisen. From the offusion of generall ignorance, or superstitious blindnesse herein, willing to withdraw the vulgar illusion; I haue endeauoured Demonstratiuely to declare what portion of some more certainty in such vncertainties, God & Nature hath destined and allowed. It is not any worth either arrogated vnto my selfe, or derogated from others, but my studious desire and vehement affection in this particular, together with some speciall experience and paines vpon diuers occurrents, and occasions extraordinarily hapning, that hath drawne me forth to offer my opinion as the widdowes mite, more haply in good will, and hearty affection, then in true value or deserued esteeme. If it may only giue occasion vnto a more exquisite pensell, it is the heighth of my intention, and a complete recompence of my endeauour. For this cause, and for common easie reading and apprehension, I haue purposely auoided, and discontinued the smooth thrid of a continued laboured stile, and haue for the most part preferred and inserted a plaine texture, of a more vulgar and carelesse phrase and word. The enuious haply may cauill,
that

To the Reader.

that a Physician out of his owne supposed precincts, should rush into sacred lists, or enter upon so high points of Divinitie, as by an unavoidable intercurrance, doe necessarily insert themselves in this proposed subject. Divinitie it selfe doth herein answer them. In the theory of Theologie, it is the dutie and praise of every man, to be without curiositie fruitfully exercised.

For as touching matter of Divinitie, as it falleth out, or is incident in the discourse of this small Treatise, I onely propound such reasons and considerations therein, as in common are allowable and commendable in every Christian man, and therein I doe neither usurpingly controule others, nor controulingly conclude my selfe, but willingly submit unto the grave censure and dictature of the learned and reverend Divine. If therefore (good Reader,) I have here published or communicated unto thee ought thanks-worthy, as it is by me freely intended unto thee; so let it not from me be unfriendly extended by thee. If I have in ought erred, let it be thy praise and goodnesse to make thy use thereof without abuse. If thou hast formerly thought amisse, and doest herereade that is more right, be not ashamed to acknowledge thy better knowledge. If thou list not to know, then know, that truth shall iudge thee, and iustifie her selfe without thee.

Thy well-willing friend.

JOHN COTTA.

THE

men, and in them, and with them borne. This, though intellectual, may bee in some sort assimilated vnto that naturall instinct in bruite creatures; by which, when they come first into the world, yet immediately by the direction of Nature, they refuse, and flie from that which is euill and harmefull, and seeke and know that which is needfull vnto their life and preservation. Secondly, the vnderstanding hath knowledge by ratiociation, by the discourse and vse of reason. By this ratiocination, we doe in many things

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gain a^b certainty of knowledge; in other some a probability and likelihood onely of certainty, yet oft-times in a very great neerenesse^c and affinity with certaintie. Knowledge likewise commeth by the outward senses, which doe certainly and vndoubtedly informe the vnderstanding concerning their seuerall proper objects, where the facultie is sound, and the instruments of sense, and the outward meanes of conueyance are rightly disposed.

Among these five senses, the sight and hearing, the eye and eare, are the most excellent and chiefe wayes of multiplication and increase of naturall knowledge. Besides these wayes of knowledge; namely, the inward and the outward sense, there neuer was, nor euer can be enumeration of any other. For this cause the Philosophers haue diuided all things that are incident vnto mankind, to know or vnderstand; either vnto such things as immediatly^d in their very first thought or mention do proue themselves, & at the first consideration or sight are euident vnto all men; or such as are directly inferred and necessarily proued by other propositions, or such as by prudent ghesse onely and likely coniecture giue a faire probability of truth and certaintie. Such things as immediatly proue themselves, and are vndoubted, in their first view, are subiect either to the sense onely, or vnto the vnderstanding onely. Such things as are only proper to the sense, and thereto immediatly and properly subiect, are things seene, heard, touched, tasted, smelt, as colours, figures, lineaments, sounds, musike, hardnesse, softnes, drynes, moisture, roughnesse, smoothnesse, lowre, sweete, diuersity of odours

odours and the like; in which, without the vse of the five senses, men cannot be sensible or know any thing in this inferior world vnder the heauens. Such things as are subiect vnto the vnderstanding onely, and not vnto the sense, and immediately proue themselues, are generall notions and receptions, inseparably fixed in the vnderstanding of all men. Of this kind are these positions in Philosophie. All things that are made, haue their matter, out of which they were made, haue their speciall formes and difference, by which they are a part that they are: and lastly to that being, which they are, are risen from that which they were not. Likewise, these positions in Logicke: Euery proposition is true or false, affirmatiue or negatiue, and extendeth generally vnto all vnder the same kinde, or to some particulars, or to a singular, or is indefinite. Likewise, in Arithmaticke these: One is no number, one cannot be diuided, or is indiuisible; foure is more then two. Likewise, in Physike these: Euery man is sicke or healthfull, or a neuter: Contraries are cured by contraries, as heat by cooling, cold by heating, moysture by drying, drynesse by moysting. As in these named Sciences, so in all other; there are the like generall notions, immediately at the first view prouing themselues vnto the vnderstanding, and euery man in common sense and reason, immediately consenteth vnto their truth; and he that denieth it, or seeketh prooffe thereof, is esteemed iustly madde, or voyd of reason.

a Materiam,
Formam.
Priuationem.

There are other things also subiect vnto the vnderstanding onely, which do not immediately vpon the first view or consideration (as the former) proue themselues, but are proued by others more cleere and euident then themselues; as this proposition. The motion of the heauens is not infinite. This is not manifest vnto euery man at first view, but requieth another more manifest then it selfe, to make it manifest thus: That which hath a certaine limited course, circumsolution and motion, cannot be infinite; but Astronomie for many thousands of yeares hath discovered the courses, periods, reuolutions, and set perambulations of the heauens, and therefore the motions of the heauens cannot be infinite. It

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Formam.
Priuationem.

There are other things also subiect vnto the vnderstanding onely, which do not immediately vpon the first view or consideration (as the former) proue themselues, but are proued by others more cleere and euident then themselues; as this proposition. The motion of the heauens is not infinite. This is not manifest vnto euery man at first view, but requirerth another more manifest then it selfe, to make it manifest thus: That which hath a certaine limited course, circumsolution and motion, cannot be infinite; but Astronomie for many thousands of yeares hath discovered the courses, periods, reuolutions, and set perambulations of the heauens, and therefore the motions of the heauens cannot be infinite: It

may here easily be obserued, how the first position being vn-
able to proue it selfe, another more manifest doth giue it
light, and doth deduce it vnto that, which doth so immedi-
ately proue it selfe vnto common sense, and reason, and ob-
seruation of all ages and times, that no idiot can be ignorant,
or will deny it.

Thus hath bin manifested, how some things are immediat-
ly vnderstood in the very first consideration & view: some
are proued by themselves, some not proued by themselves,
but made euident by others. As many things are in the for-
mer kinds & seuerall maners manifested, and euidently pro-
ued vnto reason, sense, or vnderstanding: so are there many
things neither by themselves nor by other euident, neither
to the vnderstanding and reason, or to the outward sense at
the first apparent, but remaine ambiguous and doubtfull. In
these things certainty of knowledge by manifest prooffe fail-
ling, there remaineth no other refuge, but prudent and artifi-
cial coniecture, narrowly looking & searching thorow pro-
babilities, vnto the neereft possibilitie of truth & certainty.

From hence doe arise excellent vses and benefits vnto vn-
derstanding, though not so farre forth oftentimes gained, as
is desired vnto all priuate ends, yet so farre forth, as maketh
wise and vnderstanding men excell and shine before others.
Hence it commeth to passe that in doubtfull cases, counsels
and attempts, one man is seene and knowne to ouershine an
other, as much as the glorious Sunne doth his eclipsed sis-
ter, the Moone. Hence haue issued so many noble and he-
roike Vertues; Sagacitie, exquisitnesse of iudgement, Pru-
dence, Art, in the administration of high affaires. For, al-
though in probabilities are no euident certainties, yet doe
they so farre forth oft-times aduantage and aduance vnto
the knowledge of certainty, that it is almost equall vnto
certainty, and doth perswade and settle discreete resolution
and disposition in all affaires. In this consisteth the height,
the tope, the som of Art, and the perfection of all humane
knowledge, aboue or beyond which, no man could euer soar
or leuell. By this light onely the former mentioned meanes
failing,

failing, is oft times gained much excellence of natural know-
ledge to man, beyond and without which the eye and sight
of knowledge in man is sealed vp, his vnderstanding dark-
ned, and cannot know many hidden things. And thus to him
that rightly doth meditate and consider, it is vndoubtedly
cleere and certaine, how the Creator and infinite Prince of
all principles hath founded the beginning & end, the power
and *posse* of all knowledge, vpon one of the former waies of
inuestigation, beside which there is no naturall knowledge
to be expected. Philosophie as yet neuer found other **waies*
vnto that infinite number of all Arts and Sciences, so admi-
rably flourishing thorow so many ages of the world. For
this cause the most excellent & prime Philosopher, *Aristotle*,
reiecteth whatsoeuer cannot be found by Sense, or proved by
reason, as spurious. Likewise *Ptolomie* hath bounded the true
Art of Astronomie within *scilicet* *Physicum*, within a necessi-
tie in Nature, and to distinguish it from superstition (wher-
with curiositie vsually de fileth or intangleth it) doth limit it
intra convenientem naturae modum, that is, within proportion
and measure answerable to Reason and Nature. For this
cause also, all true Philosophers haue determined the two
onely instruments of all true Arts, to bee Reason and expe-
rience, which *Galen* doth call the two legges whereupon the
Art of Physike doth consist. And therefore in the second
chapter of his *Finitiones medicae*, he saith, *Optimus is est Me-
dicus, qui omnia in Medicina recta agit ratione*, that is, hee
who doth all things in his subiect of Physike, according to
right rule of reason, is the most excellent Physicion.

From hence also all true Artists haue defined Art to bee,
Habitus cum ratione factivus, that is, a settled habilitie, and
promptnesse of action, and operation according to reason.
Vpon this ground others haue built other true rules and
observations, concerning true and lawfull Arts. Therefore
(saith *Galen*) *ars non est ex ijs quorum neutiquam est potestas*,
Isagog. chap. 5. that is, Art is not of such things as cannot
be accomplished. Which is worthy noting, to distinguish
prestigious and supposed Arts from true Art. To this o-

* Quod non
est secundum
naturam, non
continetur
a Scientia,
Arist. Anal.
poster.

thers likewise haue added another obseruation, that is; that Art is imployed about such things as are in reason profitable and not vaine. So saith *Scaliger, exercit. 37 Sect. 31. Ars non est de rebus inuisibilibus.* It is yet further obserued vpon the same ground, that true Art doeth not confound or cloud it selfe in mists, but reduceth vnto order, light and reason, things dissipate, confused, and out of order and reason (as *Cicero* affirmeth) *Ars res diuulsas dissolutasque conglutinat, & ratione quadam constringit.* Vpon the same grounds diuers renowned common weales haue expelled all false and forged Arts: as, *Necromancy, Aeromancy, Gemonancy*, with other fortilligous Diuinations. Vpon the same reasons, diuers Emperors, Kings, Kingdomes and Lawes, haue exploded, censured, and condemned all such as vnder pretext of the wholesome Arts of Astronomy, Mathematickes, and the like, haue runne into foolish curiosities, impostures, and deceitfull practises. *Iustinian* the Roman Law-giuer and Emperour, his lawes are extant to this purpose. Likewise *Tiberius* his Decrees for the expulsion of counterfeite *Mathematicians* and *Magicians*. And *Vlpian* in his booke de *Mathematicis & Maleficiis*, testifieth the publication of their goods, and their inhibition by the Emperours from communion with other Citizens so much as in fire or water. And as Reason, good Lawes, Kingdomes, Nations, and Common-weales haue distinguished ingenuous, liberall, true and profitable Artes, and Sciences builded vpon reason, trueth and vnderstanding; from base, ignoble, vnprofitable, needlesse, curious, and erroneous Artes: so hath the holy Scripture both iustified, sanctified, and commended the one, and condemned, and nominated with rebuke and shame the other. The first is euident, *Exod. 3. verse 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.* where Almightye God doeth testifie concerning the knowledge and skill of workmanship in gold, siluer, and stone, that hee gaue it by his Spirit vnto *Bezaleel*, and *Aholiab*, who were workmen according to knowledge and vnderstanding in that lawfull Art, profitable vnto the building of Gods house. The second

cond is manifest, *Actes 19. verse 19.* where it is in their due commendations recorded, that those who before used and practised vaine and curious Arts, when they were by the preaching of the Apostles truly conuerted, in token of their vndissembled repentance, they absolutely renounced and disclaimed their vaine learning, and openly burnt their bookes, though valued at an high rate and rich price.

C H A P. II.

That no Knowledge can come vnto man in any Art or Science, but by Sense or Reason, or likely and artificiall coniecture; is proued by the Science and Knowledge of Physike in stead of all other Arts and Sciences.

NOW for the better impressiō of that which hath beene before said: that is, that nothing is or can bee detected, or is liable vnto mans knowledge, which cometh not vnto him by the helpe of Reason, the inward or the outward Sense, Demonstration, Ratiocination, or iudicious and prudent Coniectation in reasonable likelihood: let vs examine any one particular, ingenuous, liberall or lawfull Art or Science, in stead of many, and therein view, how by the former mentioned keyes, doores and entrances solely, are opened the wayes vnto their contemplations, study, and perfect apprehension. And if one Art or Science may bee sufficient herein, I thinke it most fit to choose my owne, because as to my selfe most prompt; so vnto any other not vnprofitable. All diseases that happen vnto the body of man are either outward or inward, and therefore either seene by the eye, and deprehended by the outward Sense, or conceiued onely by Reason and the inward Vnderstanding. Inward diseases, and subiect onely vnto reason and vnderstanding doe sometimes appeare clearely and certainly to reason and vnderstanding; sometimes they doe not appeare certaine, or by certaine notes or signes, but by likely markes onely, which are the grounds of artificiall coniecture.

And

And as some diseases are apparent to outward sense, some euident to inward reason, some by artificiall coniecture onely in learned, exact search and perquisition pursued vnto their discouery: so also are many diseases hidden from all these wayes of inuestigation, and therefore remaine as remembrances of mans manifold ignorance in this life, and of the secret reseruatiō of Gods decree and prohibition. As then in those diseases which are apparent vnto sight, it is blindnesse in a Physicion to make question; in those which are euident to reason, to make doubt, is reasonlesse fatuities; in those which may be attained by artificiall coniectation, search or perquisition, either to be slacke, is sloth, or to bee vnable, is insufficiencie: so in those diseases, which neither outward sense, nor inward reason, nor Art, nor artificiall coniecture can possibly discouer; to hope or seeke beyond Sense and Reason, and reasonable likelihood, is reasonlesse and senselesse struiuing, and impatience of those bounds which God hath set to limit the curiositie of man. For better prooffe and illustration, it will not bee impertinent to nominate some particuler diseases in all these kinds. First for outward diseases, and such as are euident to outward sense, they are infinite. Who that is the least practised in Physicke, doeth not assuredly know, when, with his eyes hee doeth behold an inflammation, a Schirrus, a Gangrene, Cancer, Callus, Fistula, Vicer, Leprosie, Pfora, Struma, Potentilla, Variola, Jaundes, Gout, Tabescence, Extenuation, and the like. Secondly, for inward diseases euident to reason; he that is least learned, doth know that all diseases which may be defined, must necessarily be euident to reason; as also, that it is not difficult to define innumerable diseases to him that is able to conioine with the part affected, the true immediate kinde of the affection. The stomacke ceasing her proper function of concoction, or deprived of appetite, doth it not thereby manifestly prooue vnto reason some inward ill affection therein? If with this ill affection bee ioyned a manifest inward heat about the region of the stomacke, accompanied with

* Genus morbi proximum, cum parte affecta coniunctum constituit morbi speciem.

an Ague, drinesse, thirst and other accidents, and consequences of heate, is not as plainly detected the kinde of the affection to be hot?

Thus both the part affected, which is the stomacke apparently (because there the former accidents are found originally moouing and first seated,) and also the ill affection (which by the manifest burning heate doth prooue her kinde) being both conioyned, doe truely define the disease to bee an inflammation of the stomacke. The like may bee saide of the inflammations of all other inward parts of Plurifies, Phrensies, inflammation of the Liuer, Spleene, Wombe, Reines, Guts and other parts, the certaine testimonies of excessiue heate giuing demonstration of an inflammation, and the paine (or at least, some defect) or defection in the proper offices of the parts manifesting the parts themselves. As concerning inward inflammations of diuers parts, so likewise of inward Vlcers, and other maladies may be instanced. The disease of the bladder is oft certainly knowne, by paine in the part, or by cessation of his proper functions, or defection therein, and the kinde of disease therein by the excretions oft-times proceeding from it. And thus an Vlcer is oft discovered in the bladder, by paine, with purulent and sanguinolent miction. Diseases likewise of the head are certainly discovered and detected vnto reason, by defects growing; sometimes in the vnderstanding, sometimes in the memory, sometimes in the imagination, sometimes in all those together, & sometimes in the general motion of the whole body. Diseases of the heart likewise, appeare by the euill and faulty motions of the pulse, by soundings and defections in liuelihood of the spirits and vitall faculty. Diseases of the Wombe or Mother likewise doe oft demonstrate themselves by deprived or depraued motions. It were tedious to make a particular enumeration of all diseases of this kinde, which are in the same manner euident and apparent vnto reason.

Now let vs briefly also consider some diseases, which are neither euident to Reason, nor manifest to Sense; but are gained, detected, and hunted out of their deepe and hidden

couerts, by the quicke and exquisite sent of probable and artificiall coniecture; the necessity or vse whereof, either in an ambiguous complication of doubtfull diseases, or in the extrication of any intricate single affection or malady, there is no man in Physicke exercised, who doth not dayly finde. Many examples of diseases of this kinde would cause the small body of this little worke voluminously to swell: we will therefore onely propose one.

Let vs suppose a sicke man, doubtfully and diuersly with these accidents afflicted: namely, a continuall feuer, a cough, spitting of blood, shortnesse of winde, head-ache, deliration, want of sleepe, drinesse, thirst, paines in diuers parts, sides, ribbes, backe and belly: What disease or diseases here are, can neither be manifest to sense, distracted in this confusion, multitude and concurrence of accidents; nor yet be euident to reason at the first view, because it requireth so different consideration, and deuided contemplation of so many seuerals apart. Here then it remaineth, that learned, iudicious, prudent, and discrete artificiall coniecture proceed exactly to distinguish & analise, as followeth. All the forenamed paines, distempers and accidents may indifferently arise, eyther from the Lungs inflamed, or the Liuer, or the Midriffe, or the Pleura; because any one of these by it selfe doth vsually bring forth all, or most part of them. Heere then prudent, artificiall, and exquisite perpen-sion doth exactly valew and esteeme all the different manners, quantities, qualities, positions and situations of paines; likewise accidents, morions, times, manners of motion, characters, orders, and all other both substantiall and circumstantiall considerations.

And first, as touching the feuer, head-ache, thirst, idlenes of braine (because they are common to many other diseases besides these, and require no curious, but a more carelesse and common respect,) prudent and circumspect coniectation doth leaue their needlesse confusion of more vsfull and needfull perpen-sion, and doth more narrowly search about those accidents, which are more inseparable, proper and peculiar vnto the diseases named, and by exact disquisition

disquisition in their differencies, doth notwithstanding sift out their hidden and secretly couched differencies, by which, in exact view they are found and distinguished sufficiently differing. The inseparable accidents which doe peculiarly, or for the most part accompany the diseases before named, that is, the inflammation of the Lungs, the Liuer, the Midriffe and the Pleura, are cough, shortnesse of winde, spitting of blood, paines about the ribbes, sides, belly, which in all these named diseases, more or lesse are present, either primarily, or by consent of one part with another. These, though seldome absent from most of the foure former diseases, and therefore not easily distinguished, when they proceede from th'one or th'other; yet rightly weighed, and accurately considered in their severall manners, measures, and right positions in euery one, when apart and single, they doe likewise in their confused mixture one with another, yeeld distinct and severall difference to him, that in a iudicious and discerning thought, doth beare their iust distinctions apart. For illustration, spitting of blood is usually a companion to all, or most of the foure named diseases; but in one in lesse quantity, in another more; in one after one manner, in another after another; in one by vomiting, in another by expectoration, and in another by coughing; in one with much expuition, in another with little; in one with danger of strangulation and suffocation, in another without; in one with thicknesse, blacknesse, and small quantity of blood, in another with thinnesse, brightnesse of colour, and more quantity; and in one of these also with lesse, and in another with more difficulty and labour. Shortnesse of winde, or difficulty of breathing, is a common companion to all the named diseases; but in one with frequent expuition, in another without, and where, with expuition, in one with more facility, in another with difficulty, in one with one manner of distension of the instruments of respiration, in another with another, in one kinde of difficulty of respiration more frequent, in another lesse, in one more grievous, in another tolerable.

The like may be said of coughing, and paines. Coughing in one of the forenamed diseases is with much, in another with little, and in another with no expuition at all; in one continuall, in another with intermission; in one with intensification, in another with remission; in one loud, in another still; and where, with expectoration, in one of one colour and quantity, in another of another, and in another of none at all; in one easie, gentle, free and without paine, in another, grievous and painfull; yea suffocatory, and neere to strangle. Paine likewise is a common companion to all the mentioned diseases; but distinguished in the one and the other, by the manner, nature, and situation of the severall parts, which apart is every one it possiſſeth, and also by the different oddes, fashions, and kindes of paine; some being sharp, some dull, some quicke, some slowe, some with distension, some with puncture, some with heavinesse and sensible weight, some more grievous to the Patient lying, some to him sitting or standing, some more calme in one position of the body, and some in another.

And thus prudent and skilfull coniecture, by due and diligent perpenſion, comparing together oddes, and exactly referring vnto true discerning the severall properties and differences of accidents, their manner proportions, and other due circumstances, doth in the end reduce every accident to his right disease, and every disease to his right cause; whereby the prudent, and iudicious Physician doth cleerly vnderstand directly and timely to apply proper and pertinent remedies. And thus in doubtfull cases, which are neither evident to Reason, nor manifest to Sense in the Art and exercise of Physike, it is manifest how solert and accurate coniectation, through the clouds and mists of ambiguities, doth in the end so cleerely send forth and giue so faire a light, that doubt it selfe doth become out of doubt, and is little inferiour vnto certaine and plaine demonstration. As a short summe of all that hath been said, whatsoeuer hath beene declared of diseases, the same may bee propounded concerning their issues very briefly.

The issues of all diseases are either informed from Sense, or evident by reason, or scrutable by artificiall coniecture. Examples of the first kinde are manifest, when with our eyes we behold the motion and Sense externall and other outward functions of the body, either abolished, or in an high degree deprived of their power and naturall vse.

This certaine testimony of our sight doth certainly informe the vnderstanding, concerning the dangerous issue.

Examples of the second kinde are manifest likewise, we finde either the causes of diseases vnremoueably fixed, or the disease it selfe rooted in the substance of any of the principall parts, or accidents in malignitie, vehemence, and fury irresistable. In these cases a doubtfull and hard issue is evident to Reason by iust consequent.

Examples of the latter kind are also apparent, when in diseases, good and euill signes are so doubtfully mixed, that some promise Life, others as much threaten Death: some in number discourage, other some in worth as much as in courage. We doe oft see and know in the midst of this mist and darknes, where there appeareth not to a common sense so much as the least shew of any indication of certaine issue; yet through the exquisitenesse of prudent & artificiall perpenſion, and due exact distinction in the forementioned seeming inscrutable oddes; the learned Physicion euen in the first scarce sensible budding of indication, and in the first most imperfect and scarce-being thereof doth oft discouer that true event, which vsually and for the most part is seene and obserued to come to passe.

If any man not rightly apprehending reason, make a doubt or question of any such possible exquisitnes, let him consider and behold it by an easie example. In an inequalitye of one and the same Vermiculant pulse, where the beginning of the same distension is quicker, the next continuation or middle part is slower, and the beginning of the end thereof, ending almost before it begin: it must needes be very difficult, nay, almost impossible vnto the first view of Sense or Reason, or to a common iudgement or learning.

to diuide really, and distinguish this one short small motion into two or three distinct times and parts of motion, the space so very short, the faculty of moving so low and weake, and the moving it selfe almost altogether in an insensible exiguities, and an indiuisible degree of slownesse.

Wee see oft-times a common vulgar cannot in his reason conceiue it, much lesse by his sense at all perceiue it. Neither is it found easie to euery man, though learned therein, yea, or educate thereto, either perfectly to apprehend the generall Idea of such a motion, or at all in the first proofes and tryals of his sense or hand to deprehend any particular. Notwithstanding, the Physicion that exquisitely discerneth and iudgeth, doth both in reason see, that every single smallest motion, hath his diuers distinct diuision of parts, & also by his discerning, wary, iudicious and exercised touch, doth a partly detect and discover it: And thus hath been proued by feuerall instances taken in the art of Physicke, in steade of all other Arts and Sciences, for auoiding tediousnesse and confusion, that all knowledge, all Art, all Science whatsoever giuen vnto man, hath no other entrance, meanes, or wayes thereto, but therow Sense or Reason, or prudent and artificiall coniecture, sagacitie and exquisitenesse of iudging and discerning thereby.

And that it may the better appeare, that beyond these waies and lights, the Physicion cannot finde any knowledge or discovery of Diseases: let vs view some particular examples of some Diseases for this cause vndiscoverable and not to be detected: and therewith consider the impossibilitie of discovery to consist solely herein; namely, for that they are remoued from any capacitie of Sense or Reason, and from the reach of all artificiall search, scrutiny & accurate insight deriued from both, which is the highest straine of humane Vnderstanding. In the generall it cannot be denied (except of such whose vnderstandings are extremely blinde) that it is impossible, that those diseases should or can bee at all so much as suspected (and therefore much lesse knowne) which yeeld no shew, no signe, no indication of themselves. There needeth

needeth hereof no other, nor better prooffe, then the enumeration of some particular diseases of this kinde.

Are not diuers secret and hidden Apostemations, and other inward collections of vicious matter in the body, dayly Seminaries of vnexpected and wondred shapes of corruption and putrifaction, which lying long hidden in the body, and by an insensible growth taking deepe roote, in the end sodainely breake forth beyond all possible expectation, or thought of the most excellent, exquisite and subtill circumspection and disquisition? For a brieve confirmation hereof, *Hollerius* doth mention a man, the cause of whose disease while he liued, being vnknowne to Physicians, and Art, after his decease his guts were found gangrened and perished, and therein things viewed like vnto Water-snakes, and his Liuer full of schirrose knots.

There happened vnto my selfe this yeare last past, a Patient, a very worthy Gentleman, who being extremely vexed with the Strangury, Disurie, and Ischurie together with pissing of blood in great abundance, and the stone, by the vse and accommodation of remedies, found much ease, mitigation of paines, and qualification of the extremitie of all the former accidents. Notwithstanding, for that there were certaine indications of an Vlcer in the body or capacitie of the Bladder, his recouerie was not expected, but after his decease, in the dissection of his body, his Bladder was found rotten, broken and black, without any manifest matter therein as cause thereof, or so much as one stone, although hee had formerly and immediately before auoided many stones at severall times. This I produce, being fresh in memory, as an instance of impossibilitie of knowledge vnto a Physicion in many and frequent cases. For how could the fracture or colour of his Bladder, while the Patient was liuing, by any exquisitenesse of Art or vnderstanding, be knowne in any possibilitie, meanes, or power of man, although all the other accidents aboue mentioned, were vndoubtedly, by certaine indications and signes discovered? I might here deliuer many other like Examples
out

out of mine owne knowledge; I will onely call to remembrance one more.

I was of late yeares Physicion vnto a right Noble Lady; the cause of whose apparent dangerous estate, diuers learned and famous Physicions conioyned with my selfe, could neuer discouer. In the dissection of her body after her decease, her heart was found inclosed with a shining rotten gelly, and the very substance of the heart of the same colour.

In the same Lady, an intolerable paine about the bottome of her stomack, by fits deprived her of all ease by day, and of rest by night, and could neuer be either knowne in the cause, or remooued in the accident by any meane or remedy: but after death, in the dissection of her body before mentioned, a black round gelly as bigge as a Tenice ball, did manifest it selfe in that place, where, in her life, the intolerable paine was seated and fixed.

Of this euill discoloration of her heart, of the matter and euill colour of that matter wherewith her heart was inuironed; as also of that collected gelly in her stomacke, what possible knowledge (thinke you) or exquisite vnderstanding, or art of man could euer in her life time giue any notice or information? Like vnto this is that which *Hellius* in the 21. of his rare obseruations doth mention. In a sicke man perplexed in a strange manner from an vnknown cause in his life, after his death his liuer and epiploon did appeare corrupted and putrified, his stomacke toward the bottome bruised and full of blacke iuice or humour. *Christophorus Schillincus*, opening the body of a childe after death, reporteth, that hee saw in the small veines, running thorow the substance of the liuer, many small scrawling wormes then liuing. *Beninenius* doth make mention of a woman tormented grieuously by a needle in her stomack, which was impossible by any art or exquisitnesse of vnderstanding to bee conceiued or suspected, if nature it selfe working it out thorow the body and substance of the stomacke, vnto the outward view and Sense, had not so discovered

uered it. I will not here mention the generation of wormes, stones, and the like in the guts, gall, heart, longs and other parts, of which no Art, or excellence of knowledge can possibly take notice, vntill they haue prooued themselves vnto the sight. Many diseases of these kindes being fearefull and terrible accidents, and afflictions vnto the body, yet for the most part are neuer detected; because they haue not onely no proper true certaine likely, but no possible meanes or way of indication or notice at all, in any reason or vnderstanding of humane Art or Science; without which the most exquisite and Scientificall Clarkes are altogether disabled, and must necessarily bee ignorant. Thus hath beene at large manifested, that nothing can bee vnto the Physician in his Art and Science knowne, which either by outward Sense or inward is not apparent, or by likely and artificiall coniecture from both, is not detected or discerned. The like might bee vrged concerning the trials of Lawe and Iustice, and inquisitions of offences and errors against the Law, which are the diseases of a Common-weale, as the former of the body of man. Many offences against the Lawe are apparent vnto the outward Sense, as sight or hearing: and therefore being witnessed by hearers or beholders, are without doubt or difficultie immediately dispatched, sentenced, and adjudged. Many also are euident to reason, which therefore are held and reputed inuincibly and infallibly to conuince.

Many offences also there are, neither manifest to Sense, nor euident to reason, against which onely likelihood and presumptions doe arise in iudgement; whereby notwithstanding, through narrow search and sifting, strict examination, circumspect & curious view of euery circumstance, together with euery materiall moment and oddes thoroughly, and vnto the depth and bottome by subtrill disquisition fadomed, the learned, prudent, and discerning Iudge doeth oft detect and bring vnto light many hidden, intestine, and secret mischiefes, which vnseensibly and vnobservedly would otherwise oppress and subuert the Common-weale. When

by none of these wayes of extrication the truieth can possibly be gained, the wise and vpright Iudge vnto necessitie in want of due warrant vnto iust proceeding, doeth with patience and sobrietie submit. For this cause (as may be seene vpon records) many cases iustly necessarily and vnavoidably stand perpetually inscrutable, vndecided and neuer determined, as certaine proofes & euidences of the limitation and annihilation of mans knowledge in many things of this life: Almighty God oft-times decreeing to hide some truieth from the sight of man, and detaining it in his owne secret will and pleasure.

C H A P. III.

*Whether Witch-craft haue any other wayes or meanes of true-
sigation, then these before mention'd, and what is the true
inuestigation.*

IT hath beene at large before declared, how God and Nature haue limited and confined all knowledge of man, within certaine wayes and bounds, out of which, and beyond which it cannot passe; as also for that cause, that no iustificable Art or true Science whatsoeuer, doeth or can exceed those restraints. There haue bin also diuers examples produced of the necessitie of mans ignorance, in the impossibilitie of much knowledge, and discovery of things hidden and inhibited by the iust and vnssearchable decrees of God and Nature. It remaineth now to enquire concerning our particular subiect of Witch-craft, whether in the common way of all other detections of truieths, it ought likewise consist; or whether by it selfe it haue other priuiledges beyond all other trialls. If reason be the sole eye and light of naturall vnderstanding which God hath given vnto reasonable man (as is before proued.) If without it can be no naturall knowledge, no Art, no Science, no discovery. If Law among all people and nations be so iust in all things, as to doe or allow nothing against true reason (in which

which consisteth right.) If God himselfe; and all flourishing Common-weales haue tyed men and Lawes, and the decision by them of all doubts, questions and controuersies, either vnto right prooffe, euidence and allegation, according vnto reason, or at least, faire likelihood, presumption, and probabilitie; and beyond these there neuer was, is, or can be any iust iudgement or triall: How is it possible that man can attaine any knowledge of Witch-craft, if not by those meanes, by which onely his nature is capable of whatsoeuer is allotted to bee knowne thereto? If this bee infallibly true, man must either by the former common wayes of knowledge and detection, know likewise and detect Witch-craft, or else bee altogether ignorant thereof; whereof the contrary by dayly experience is manifest. It may bee and is objected, that it is a hard and difficult matter to detect Witch-craft, by the former and ordinary courses, as is oft seene and found apparent. So is it likewise equally difficult, and as hard by the same meanes oft times, for many a iust man to prooue and cleere his opposed innocency, and for many an iniuriously wronged wretch to prooue his right, to defend his goods, yea, life it selfe from violence; notwithstanding, this is no allowance vnto another way, no reason or iustification of any vnwarranted way, or way out of the way of Reason, Iustice, and Law, bee his burden neuer so importable, or his iniury exceeding crueltie.

For, if God had allowed vnto men alwayes smooth, assured, certaine and infallible wayes vnto the satisfaction of their wants, and the accomplishment of their intentions and desires without failing; what would become of Religion, Vertue, and Wisedome? Then should euery man be alike wise, and men would bee so confident in their owne strength and power, and so proud, that they would forget God and neuer thinke of the Almighty. If the meanes and wayes vnto all knowledge, and the information of our desires and affections, did meeete with no impediment, no opposition, no contradiction, no casualty to intercept, and

all things should prosperously succeed vnto our meanes and endeouours, there would neuer bee any vse of Parience, Temperance, or dependance vpon the diuine providence; and consequently, little acknowledgement, and lesse worship and adoration of our Creator, who according to his wisdom, good will and pleasure, doth otherwise gouerne, guide, order and dispose all things. For if vnto our supposed needfull ends, vses and necessary desires were certaine and vncontrouled wayes, nothing impossible, nothing denyed; then were our lust a Lawe, and man in no power but in his owne, in no awe, in no Law, in no rule.

Therefore Almighty God in his great and vnspokeable Wisdom hath subiected vaine man, and made his pride subiect to infinite creatures, limits, restraints, coertions, thereby to teach him true wisdom, pietie, trust, dependance, worship, and adoration of his all-restraining and all-limiting vnlimited power. Man therefore must thereby learne to be contented so to know, as therewith to learne to know himselfe; that is, with his large portion, his lot, his manifold indowments, his excellencie of Sense, Reason, Vnderstanding, Prudence, Art, not to forget or spurne at their interdictions, prohibitions, and inioyned lists, beyond which to desire to know, is curiositie, is folly: *Sapientia, vera nolle nimis sapere*, saith the Poet. It is true Wisdom, not to bee too wise: that is, not to know, nor desire to know more then is allowed or needfull: needfull, not in our desires, but Gods Decree.

Here then let me intreat reasonable men, not too much (as is vsuall) to swell with indignation, or to be puffed with impatience, where God doth not apertly reueale & plaine-ly (as they desire and thinke needfull) the subtil engines, and mysticall craft of the Diuell in the Machinations of Witches and Sorcerers; but soberly, modestly, and discreetly, so farre forth be contented to pursue the tryall and iust way of their discouery, as with sense, with reason, with Religion is iust and righteous, knowing that whatsoever is beyond these lists, is reasonlesse, senselesse, and impious.

For

For since God and Nature (as is before said) hath limited the scrutinie of all true Arts, and Sciences, all naturall knowledge for discoverie of controuerſies and resolutions vnto the lights of Reason and Sense, & artificiall coniecture, prudence, Art, Sagacitie, and subtiltie of vnderstanding deuied from thence; vnto what other barre or ſeate of Iuſtice can Witch-craft appeale or be brought?

It may be objected, the Art of Witch-craft, being ſupernaturall, and the practice thereof ſuſtained by an extraordinary power; that therefore the meanes and wayes of diſcouerie muſt bee likewise more then ordinary and ſupernaturall.

Hereto is truly answered, that ſince the nature and power of Spirits is vnknowne vnto man (as all things ſupernaturall) and can bee, and is no otherwiſe knowne, but by examining the workes iſſuing from thence, and comparing them aright with that which is naturall (becauſe man in his Reason and vnderſtanding cannot diſcerne that which is truly tranſcending his Nature, otherwiſe, then obſeruing how farre it exceedeth that which is according to Nature;) therefore (I ſay) the workes of the Diuell, or Witches, though ſuſtained and produced by a ſupernaturall power, yet can haue no other way for their detection by man, but that which is ordinary vnto man, and naturall and poſſible vnto man; for that which is aboue or beyond his power, or Nature, is not his owne. From hence muſt neceſſarily be concluded, that there is no other ordinary way vnto man (who knoweth or can know nothing but that is naturall) vnto the diſcouerie of that is ſupernaturall, but that way which is likewiſe naturall. Although therefore the ſubiect of Witch-craft require a greater meaſure of knowledge to diſcerne that which is therein really, and truly ſupernaturall, from that which in nature oft-times hath a very great likeneſſe, and a deceiueable ſimilitude therewith: yet is the way vnto that knowledge, the common high way which conducteth vnto all other knowledge whatſoeuer. And that this alſo is the ſame way & direction,

which the holy Scripture it selfe doeth intend, for the discovery of witches, and their sentencing is manifest. *Num. 35. 30. Deut. 17. 2. and 19. 15. Math. 18. 16. Iohn 8. 17. 2. Corin. 13. 1. Acts 23. 28.* In these named places it is required, that no man bee iudged in matter of weight, or death, but by the testimony of two witnesses, at the least. Witch-craft therefore being a matter, both of weight, and death, cannot according vnto Gods word, bee iudged but by testimony of witnesses: whatsoeuer is witnessed, must necessarily bee subiect to sense, since no man can witnesse ought, whereof there is not sense. From hence then it is inuitably concluded, that the workes of Witches, are no other way to bee discerned, or iudged, but by the common way of discovery, by deedes, and workes apparent to sense, and the testimony thereof. Let men then bee perswaded and contented (since God hath allotted, and allowed vnto the naturall and power of man, no other way) in this chiefly warranted true way to seeke the discovery, to finde the footing, path, and steppings of Witch-craft, as of all other things, which by the Decree of God are reuealed vnto many, and subiect vnto the knowledge of man. It may bee here demanded, whether Almighty God doth not extraordinarily; and miraculously at some time discover this so abominable signe of Witch-craft, as well as by ordinary meanes leaue it vnto discovery? This doubt shall more fully in more due place be hereafter at large discoursed. It hath now bene here manifested, that there is or can bee no other ordinary triall of Witch-craft, then that which is common vnto all other detections of truth: and also that all detections subiect vnto the discovery of man (as hath bene before cleared) are drawne and deriued either from Sense or Reason, or likely probability raised from both. No other way is now to be sought.

Before I doe proceed farther, for his more facill vnderstanding, I doe admonish the Reader, that hee distinguish, what is meant by the supernaturall workes; namely, whatsoeuer is effected, in, vpon, or by any corporall substances,

or sublunarie bodies, which is above the nature, and power of those bodies, or sublunarie substances: They are not supernaturall, in regard of those spirituall substances, which are the proper agents, and vnder whom such workes; are no more then naturall; but in regard of those bodily substances, upon which, in which, or by which, those spirituall substances doe worke, as meere their patients, and being in themselves, or owne nature deprived of any such possibilitie.

CHAP. III.

Of the workes of Witches and Diuels.

BEfore wee proceed further to treat concerning matter of Witch-craft, according to the former waies of discouery and inuestigation: it will be needfull to distinguish who is the true Author, cause, and immediate workman of the supernaturall workes which by Sorcery and Witch-craft are compassed or brought to passe.

All created substances indowed with powers and vertue from God their Creator, are either bodily, or corporall substances, or spirituall, or mixt and betwixt both.

Bodily and corporall substances are the heauens; the celestiall bodies of the Starres, of the Sunne, of the Moone; the bodies of the elements, and all elementarie substances from them deriued and composed.

Spirituall substances are either Angels, or Diuels, or soules of men after death, separated from their bodies.

Mixed substances, partly Spirituall, partly bodily, are mankinde compounded of a naturall body, and vnderstanding soule.

Hence it cometh to passe, that man by his vnderstanding Spirit, doth together with Angels, Spirits, and Diuels, participate and vnderstand many things, as the Scripture revealed; the History and Creation of the whole world; many truths of God; the grounds of Reason; the principles

ples of Nature; many generall rules and observations, and infinite particular objects of many things past, present, and to come. But for that this vnderstanding Soule is depressed, and imprisoned in this life by the body; by the passions, diseases, and manifold incumbrances thereof, and cannot extend or enlarge it selfe further vnto any portion of knowledge, then throw the narrow windowes, closures, parts and organs of the body: therefore must necessarily the knowledge of man be much inferiour vnto that measure of knowledge, which Spirits, being of a more subtrill essence, and free from the burden and incumbrance of an earthly tabernacle or prison, doe in a more large extent inioy.

As is said of the difference of knowledge in Spirits, beyond the power and nature of man: so may be said from the same reason of the difference of the workes of spirits, farre enlarging and extending their vertue and power, beyond the power and force of men.

The workes of men, are confined within the power and nature of these sublunarie bodies, vnto which they are annexed, and tyed.

The workes of Spirits are limited to no corporall substance or body, but spaciouly compasse the whole and vniuersall body of the sublunary or inferiour world (as the Diuell doth witnesse of himselfe, *Iob 1. verse 7.*) and are not tied vnto any particular place, but rule generally therein, and in all places by the permission of God, as is euident, *Eph. 2. ver. 2.* where the Diuell is called the Prince that ruleth in the ayre, euen the Spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience: and likewise, *Ephes. 6. verse 12.* where he is called the Prince of darknesse of this world.

From these vndoubted grounds, it is necessarily inferred, that both all knowledge exceeding the knowledge of man, must needs issue from the knowledge of Spirits, and also that all workes exceeding and transcendent, above the power and nature of corporall substances, must necessarily be

be the force of Spirits. It may now be demanded how the workes of good Spirits shall be knowne and distinguished from the workes of euill Spirits and diuels. Since both their workes proceede from the same nature, substance, and spirituall essence common vnto them both. This shall appeare by the consideration of the orders and sorts of good Spirits, expressed in holy Scripture, and their properties, besides which, all other are necessarily euill, and therefore diuels, like vnto whom likewise by just consequence must be their workes, the one reciprocally discovering the other. All good Spirits are either Angels and Messengers of God, specially sent with his holy embassage, to speciall holy men, for speciall holy ends, as was the Seraphin sent vnto *Isaiah*, the 6. Chapter, verse 6. and as were the Angels vnto the Shepheards, when our Saviour was borne, or as were the Angels which were sent vnto the Patriarches of olde, or els to the Angels ordinarily commanded to guide, protect, and defend the Elect and chosen children of God, as is manifest both by the testimony of our Saviour, *Matth.* 18. verse 10. See that you despise not (saith our blessed Saviour) one of these little ones. For I say vnto you, that in heauen their Angels alway behold the face of my Father, which is in heauen. And by that Text also, *Heb.* 1. verse 14. Are they not all ministering Spirits (saith the Apostle, speaking of Angels) sent forth to minister for their sakes, who shall be heires of saluation? Beside these orders of good and holy Spirits, neither hath the holy Scripture, neither hath the light of reason, or nature, or observation, knowne or discouered any other.

All the workes likewise and employments of these good Spirits, are all and euer obserued to be like themselves, holy, good, freely serving and ministering vnto the expresse will, knowne and vnderstood pleasure of Almighty God, as is certainly confirmed, *Psal.* 103. verse 21. Praise ye the Lord (saith the Psalmist) ye his Angels that excell in power, that do his commandments in obeying the voyce of his word.

* Angeli boni non possunt peccare, confirmati per gratiam. Angeli mali, per malitiam obstinati non possunt bene uelle Magist. Sent. dist. 7. lib. 1.

All workes therefore or effects issuing from Spirits, that cannot be proved and manifested to be first commanded by God, Secondly, tending solely to the execution of his will; and thirdly, we are contained in one of the fore first mentioned offices and administrations of Spirits, they are all certainly and assuredly to be suspected as workes of diuels, and evil spirits, whom God doth permit (as saith S. *Augustine* in his 3. Booke *de Trinitate*) to bring to passe such workes of theirs partly to decree those wicked, which God in judgement hath given over to be delivred of diuels; partly, to quicken and stirre up the godly and holy man, and to trie and prove him thereby, as hee did his faithfull servant *Iob* upon his bed of sorow, when vpon his bed of sorow.

Now for a more distinct cleerenesse and light vnto the prooffe of these suspected workes of diuels, it is very profitable, necessary and pertinent, that we consider their kinds, which are two. The first kinde is of such supernaturall workes as are done by the diuell solely and simply to his owne ends or use, without any reference or respect to any contract or covenant with man. The second kinde is of such transcendent workes, as are done with a respect or reference vnto some contract or covenant with man. In the first, the diuell is solely an Agent for himselfe, without the consent or knowledge of man. In the second, the supernaturall and transcendent workes are truly, essentially, and immediately from the diuels; also (because out of the reach or power of any command of man simply) yet therein man hath a property and interest by covenant and contract, and derivation thereof from the diuell, which is truly and solely Sorcerie, and Witchcraft: for since supernaturall workes are onely proper to a Spirit, and aboue the nature and power of man, they cannot truly and properly be esteemed his; and therefore it is not the supernaturall work it selfe, but mans contract and combination therewith the diuell, his consent and allowance thereof, that doth make it his, and him a Witch, a Sorcerer, which is a contract

* Boni Angeli difficile cõparent, nec nisi summi Dei iussa capeſſunt
Fernel. de Abd. Rer. Caus. lib. 1. ca. 11.

* Inter maleficia & merum Diaboli opus distinguitur. Binsfeldius Explicat. in præfud. 5. Vt fiat maleficia hæc tria concurrunt, nempe Deus permittens, Diaboli potestas, hominis malefici voluntas libere consentiens. Binsfeldius de conf. Sagar.

tracter with the diuell. Now let vs proceed to confider how these supernaturall workes in the former foure all kinde are or may be detected, some by Reason, some by Sense.

The workes of the Diuell by himselfe, solely wrought without the association of man.

IT is not destitute of easie prooffe, that there are many supernaturall workes of the diuell manifest to sense, wherein man doth not participate in knowledge, contract or consent with him. Did not the Diuell in the body of a Serpent miraculously *reason, dispute, speake and conferre with *hē 4. Gen. 3*? Was not his speech and voice vndoubtedly, manifestly, perceptibly, and truly heard, and sounding in her eares? There then was no man as yet borne that could combine with the diuell in this supernaturall worke, or that could then be found a Witch. Likewise, was not the diuels carriage of the body of our Saviour, and setting it vpon a pinnacle of the Temple, manifest to the eye? Was not the fire which the diuell *brought downe from heauen in so miraculous manner, and in so extraordinary power to deuoure so many thousands of *Iohs* sheepe, truly visible? The Messengers escaping to bring the tydings doth witness it. Was not the power of the diuell seene at such time, as in the Gospell he carryed whole herds of swine headlong into the Sea? Was not the Diuell seene to rend and teare the bodies of men by him possessed, in an extraordinarie and supernaturall manner and sort, *Marke the first, Luke 4. Math. 17. Marke the ninth*? Was not the very voice of a Spirit heard and distinguished, when the diuell in so fearefull and maruellous manner cryed out in the possessed, *Math. 8. Mark. 5. Luke 8*? Did not the people behold the miraculous force of the diuell casting the possessed into the midst of them, *Luke 4. verse 33, 34, 35*? Did not the

b Tacitè inuocatur Dæmon quociens quis contendit illud facere per causas naturales quæ nec virtute sua naturali neque ex diuina aut ecclesiastica possunt facere. Binsfeldius.

* Instrumentum diaboli Serpens. Tremelius, Iunius The Serpent did verily speake. It was a true serpent not a shadow. The diuell speake in the Serpent as the Angel in the Asse. Dr. Willet. * Iob. 1. ver. 16

people hit and beheld a foule Spirit crying aloud, and in
an audible voyce and haunter uttering out of the pos-
sessed, *Adams 1024, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028* All these were workes su-
pernaturall of the diuell, and manifest to outward sense;
yet no mention, no suspicion, no reason of mention, or su-
spection of a Witch or Sorcerer: wherein therefore the diuell
alone was sole Agent. But it may be objected, that these ex-
amples are of the holy Scriptures are recorded as things
specially scene, or noted in some speciall ages and times,
which after-times and other ages doe not, or cannot
afford: *It is not desirable of this purpose to mentione*

The contrary is manifest by the faithfull histories and true
reports of Ethnieke writers, who living in distant ages, doe
not differ in the true consent and harmony of the same re-
port, concerning the same things, as they haue succeeded in
their severall ages. It is not incredible, but certain vnto any
common Reader, what diuers authors of approved faith
and credit, in severall ages haue written: how the diuell
not onely out of the bodies and severall parts, * a part of
the bodies of men haue uttered words, and spoken with the
voice of man: even as in the Gospell he did out of the pos-
sessed, but also out of trees, caves of earth, images & statues.
The first is evident by the generall report from one suc-
ceeding age vnto another, concerning the *Pythons Pythonici*
Ventriloqui, and the like. The second was never
hid many hundredth of yeares, for many ages long before
the birth of our blessed Saviour, as is apparent by the fa-
mous Oracle of *Delphos*, the Oake of *Dadonia*, the Statue
of *Menmon*. *Petrus Gregorius Theologus*, in his *Synagma*
iuris, reciteth this history concerning certaine statues at
Alexandria, that they did fall vnto the ground suddenly,
and with an audible voyce declared the death of *Marcianus*
the Emperour, even at the same moment and point of time
when he was then slaine at Rome.

As the Diuell doth shew himselfe by voyces and sounds in
trees, caves, statues, and the like: so doth he in diuers o-
ther outward shapes and formes of othe creatures.

Thus

Thus he appeared vnto *Ena*, and spake vnto her in the shape of a Serpent aforesaid. Of his appearance in diuers other formes likewise are many Testimonies. Neither doe Philosophers differ or doubt herein. *Aristotle* in his *Metaphisickes* hath these words. *ἁπλῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπλοῦς καὶ ἁπλῆς, καὶ ὁμοῦ, καὶ ὁμοῦ καὶ ὁμοῦ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ ἐν τούτοις στοιχεῖα τὰ ζῶοντα καὶ δαιμόνια.* That is, substances are called simple bodies, as water, earth, fire and the like, and things compounded thereof, as living creatures and spirits: which is so farre forth to be vnderstood of spirits, as they were in assumed shapes visible. *Orpheus* doth number sixe kinds of these visible diuels or spirits. *Δαίμονες ὑπερίους καὶ αἰθέρους, καὶ αἰθέρους, καὶ χθονίους καὶ ὑποχθονίους ποταμῶν.* That is, Spirits inhabiting the heauenly regions, Spirits ruling in the ayre, in the water, in the fire, in the earth, and vnder the earth. The Spirits in the Aire *Plato* saith, are presidents of diuination, of miracles, and of *Chaldaicke Magicke*. The Spirits in the earth, and vnder the earth are such as appeare in the shape of Dogges, and Goates, and the like, moouing men vnto foule and vnlawfull lusts as *Ianus Iacobus Boissardus* in his *tractate de Magia & genijs* doth testifie. The same Authour vnto this purpose citeth Saint *August*, lib. 2. *Super Genesim ad literam*, confirming that Spirits doe vse the helpe of Aerie bodies or substances that they may appeare vnto men. Vnto this opinion of the apparitions of Spirits variety of story likewise doth bring forth faith and credit. I will not mention the apparition which happened vnto *Athenodorus* the Philosopher reported by *Pliny*, nor *Brutus* his *Genius* after the death of *Iulius Caesar*, appearing and speaking vnto him, nor those representations, which in the shape of men appeared vnto *Lucius Domitius*, returning toward *Rome* as *Suetonius* reporteth, adding for confirmation of truth in the Historie, that the apparition touching his beard, it instantly changed from the former perfect blacke vnto a liuely yellow, and thereupon he was afterward surnamed *Oenobarbus*. I will not farther cite ancient times herein. Let vs come vnto later daies and writers. It is reported

by *Iohn de Serres* the French Chronicler, that the late renowned K. of France, *Henry* the 4. being in his hunting sports, a Diuell or Spirit presented vnto the Kings eares and his whole company, a great cry of hounds, and winding of hornes. The King commanded Count *Soissons* to goe see who it was, wondering who durst interrupt his game. The Earle still issuing forward toward the noise, still heard it, but seemed nothing neerer vnto it, though desiring to come neere it. At length a bigge blacke man presented himselfe in the thickest of the bushes, and speaking vnto the Earle some few words, sudainly vanished.

There could be no deceit in so many eares and witneses, nor can the obiection of a meere imagination stand vncontrouled of the iust reproofe of want of wit and good manners, in doubt or deniall of so faire and so well aduised due testimonies.

Master Fox, in the life of *Martin Luther*, doth relate the apparition and conference of the Diuell with a yong man; who vpon contracts agreed betweene the Diuell and himselfe, deliuered vnto the Diuell his bond for conditioned performances.

Speede in his Chronicle, and relation of the passage of many affaires, within the time of *Henry* the 4. doth make mention of the apparition of the Diuell in the habite of a *Minorite Fryer* at *Danbury Church* in *Essex*, with such thundring, lightning, tempests, and fire-balls, that the vault of the Church brake, and halfe the Chancell was carried away.

I will not further recite infinite Histories and Reports, which may seeme to depend vpon the obscure or doubted credit of superstitious factions, or partiall Authors, but of such onely as by the common consent of times, and generall voice of all Writers, exact credit and esteeme.

In this kinde what a multitude of Examples doth the whole current and streame of all Writers of all ages afford? Who almost that readeth any ancient classically Author, can auoide

auoide the common mention of fained gods,* and goddesses of the field, of the woods, of the mountaines, of houses, of desarts, of riuers, of springs, and the like, offering themselves vnto men and people, sometimes in one shape, sometimes in another; requiring worship, ceremonies and rites; some in one manner, some in another; doing strange and admired workes oft-times, sometimes pleasantly encountering people, sometimes menacing?

Herevpon grew the multitude and varietie of names giuen vnto them, according to the seuerall manners, shapes, gestures, and places which they vsed; as * *Fauni, Satyri, Nymphae, Empusa, Lemures*. All Christians, who know God, his word, and truth, and thereby belecue one onely true God, must needs assure themselves that all these were euill Spirits, and Diuels. * That such were, all times, ages, histories, and records of times with one vniuersall consent confirme. That they were manifestly seene, known, & familiarly by the outward senses discerned and distinguished, cannot be denied, by the seuerall descriptions of their manners, assumed shapes and gestures.

And thus briefly auoiding the tediousnesse of the multitude of vncertaine particular examples giuen by private men, I haue by vndoubted and vncontrouled references vnto ages and successions of continued histories from one vnto another manifested, how among the heathen, the Diuell hath apparently offered himselfe vnto the outward sense, without the association of a Witch or Sorcerer: Which was likewise before prooued by instances out of the holy Scripture. In all these the Diuell hath affected to * counterfeite the apparitions of the blessed Angels of God vnto his holy seruants, thereby to make himselfe like or equal vnto God in ignorant and vnbeleeuing hearts.

* Vide Platonem in Epinome de virtutibus & potestatibus Heroum, quos Latini Lemures dixerunt. De Geniis item diis & demonibus promiscue in caelo, terra, & singulis mundi regionibus distributis vide in Politico, Vide Platonem 4. de legibus. Quos ibi Plato promiscue Demones appellat, Latini his nominibus, & qui busdam officiis distinxerunt.

* Fauni Syluani Incubi Dufii Demones fuere. August. De Ciuit Dei. Diabolus, Dei xmulus quo se fallaci similitudine infiguer in animos simplicium. Calvin. lib 7. Instit. cap. 8. Sect. 2.

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Master Fox, in the life of *Martin Luther*, doth relate the apparition and conference of the Diuell with a yong man; who vpon contracts agreed betweene the Diuell and himselfe, deliuered vnto the Diuell his bond for conditioned performances.

Speede in his Chronicle, and relation of the passage of many affaires, within the time of *Henry* the 4. doth make mention of the apparition of the Diuell in the habite of a *Minorite Fryer* at *Danbury Church* in *Essex*, with such thundring, lightning, tempests, and fire-balls, that the vault of the Church brake, and halfe the Chancell was carried away.

I will not further recite infinite Histories and Reports, which may seeme to depend vpon the obscure or doubted credit of superstitious factions, or partiall Authors, but of such onely as by the common consent of times, and generall voice of all Writers, exact credit and esteeme.

In this kinde what a multitude of Examples doth the whole current and streame of all Writers of all ages afford? Who almost that readeth any ancient classicall Author, can

auoide

auoide the common mention of fained gods,* and goddesses of the field, of the woods, of the mountaines, of houses, of desarts, of riuers, of springs, and the like, offering themselves vnto men and people, sometimes in one shape, sometimes in another; requiring worship, ceremonies and rites; some in one manner, some in another; doing strange and admired workes oft-times, sometimes pleasantly encountering people, sometimes menacing?

Herevpon grew the multitude and varietie of names giuen vnto them, according to the seuerall manners, shapes, gestures, and places which they vsed; as * *Fauni, Satyri, Nymphae, Empusa, Lemures*. All Christians, who know God, his word, and truth, and thereby beleue one onely true God, must needs assure themselves that all these were euill Spirits, and Diuels. * That such were, all times, ages, histories, and records of times with one vniuersall consent confirme. That they were manifestly seene, known, & familiarly by the outward senses discerned and distinguished, cannot be denied, by the seuerall descriptions of their manners, assumed shapes and gestures.

And thus briefly auoiding the tediousnesse of the multitude of vncertaine particular examples giuen by private men, I haue by vndoubted and vncoutrouled references vnto ages and successions of continued histories from one vnto another manifested, how among the heathen, the Diuell hath apparently offered himselfe vnto the outward sense, without the association of a Witch or Sorcerer: Which was likewise before prooued by instances out of the holy Scripture. In all these the Diuell hath affected to * counterfeite the apparitions of the blessed Angels of God vnto his holy seruants, thereby to make himselfe like or equal vnto God in ignorant and vnbelleuing hearts.

* Vide Platonem in Epinomide de viribus & potestatibus Heroum, quos Latini Lemures dixerunt. De Geniis item diis & daemonebus promiscue in caelo, terra, & singulis mundi regionibus distributis vide in Politico, Vide Platonem 4. de legibus. Quos ibi Plato promiscue Daemones appellat, Latini his nominibus, & quibusdam officiis distinxerunt.

* Fauni Syluani Incubus Dusi Daemones fuere. August. De Ciuit. Dei. Diabolus, Dei xmulus quod se fallaci similitudine insinuet in animos simplicium. Calvin. lib. 1. Instit. cap. 8. Sect. 2.

CHAP. VI.

Workes done by the Diuell, with respect vnto Covenant with Man.

IT now followeth to giue examples of such supernaturall workes as are offered by the Diuell, wherein man hath an interest and propertie by contract with the Diuel; as also to shew that these workes are manifest in like manner vnto the outward sense. Vnto this prooofe out of holy Scripture, behold the Witch of *Endor*. Did not *Saul* contract with her, and she promise vnto *Saul* to bring vp *Samuel* vnto him? Did not *Saul* see the vision raised by her, or at least speake thereto, and receiue answer there-from, 1. *Sam.* 28. 8? were not then his eyes and eares (those two outward senses) certaine witnesses of her Sorcerie? Behold also the Sorcerers of Egypt. Did not *Pharaoh* see and view with his eyes those great and mighty Sorceries, water turned into blood, rods into Serpents, Frogges caused to issue out vpon the face of the earth?

And as the holy Scripture doth afford vs these examples, so are the histories of all ages, people, and countries, fraught with the like as manifest to sense as these, and as apparently detecting and pointing out the Sorcerer and Sorcery.

Livy reporteth, in those ancient dayes of *Rome*, that the *Romane Claudia*, a vestall Virgin, did shew her selfe in act, able alone with ease and facilitie to draw a mighty ship by a small line or girdle, which was in the weight and greatnesse vnmoueable, against the force and power of many strong men, assisted by the strength of cattell accustomed to draw mighty and heauy burdens. That this was an act supernaturall, and aboue, and beyond any naturall vertue or force in her Nature, is madnesse to doubt. That in this supernaturall act also, she had a propertie by her allowance and like-
ing

ing thereof, expressed by her voluntarie action of vnder-taking and drawing; who can make doubt? The act was supernaturall, and aboue her power and nature: her good will, allowance, and voluntary putting the act in practice, did proue her consent, if not contract, with that power and nature superiour vnto her owne, which is vndoubtedly, Sorcery, and Witch-craft. To this purpose, saith *Binsfeldius*, *Explicat. in pralud. 5. Requiritar in maleficio hominis libera voluntas quam Diabolus non potest cogere, sed persuadere tantum aut terrere.* That is, in Witch-craft necessarily the will, or consent of man, must concurre with the Diuels worke, for the Diuell cannot force, or compell the will of man, but perswadeth it onely, or affrighteth it. And againe hee saith, that whosoeuer doeth pretend to doe those things, which are aboue the power, and reach of man, by any naturall causes, which causes are allowed no such effects, either in nature, or in Gods word, or by any ordinance of of his Church, that man doeth closely, or tacitly inuocate the Diuell. *Quoties (inquit) quis contendit illud facere, per causas naturales, quæ nec virtute sua naturali, neque ex diuina aut Ecclesiastica possunt illud facere, Tacitè in vocatur Daemon.*

Tuccia also a veltall Virgin, is reported by mumbling of a certaine prayer, to keepe water within a siue, or a riddle, as witnesseth not onely *Pliny*, but euen *Tertullian*.

* *Camerarius* maketh mention of a man, who armed onely with certaine charmes, would vndertake to receiue vpon his body, without harme, bullets, or shot out of the fiery Cannon.

De diuinis
generibus.
pag. 118.

He maketh also mention of another, who would vndertake to lay his hand vpon the mouth of the like instrument, euen when the fire was already giuen, and thereby cause the flame appearing in the mouth thereof, together with the shot there, to stay.

The like is reported by *Ianus*, *Iacobus*, *Boissardus*, concerning a Germane Count in his booke *de Diuinatione*. It is related vpon good record, that *Decius Aelius* the Augur, was able to report vnto *Tarquinius* the Romane King, the

very particular which he intended, & prepared in his most secret designes. It is written of the *Euthusiastes*, or Prophetesses of *Diana* in *Castabata*, a towne of *Cilicia*, that they would walke vsually, & voluntarily, with naked & bare feet, vpon hot burning coales, without any hurt, or alteration by the fire. It is recorded concerning *Pythagoras*, that hee would by certaine secret words, compell a feeding Oxe, Bullocke, or the like, immediately to stand still, and forbear his meat. Others report of him, that he would command wild beasts, and Birds, Beares, and Eagles, to come vnto him, to grow tame, to follow him. It is credibly reported of the same *Pythagoras*, that hee was at once by seuerall parties seene, in the very same point of time, both in the Citie of *Thurium*, and the towne of *Metapontum*.

Apollonius likewise was translated, as it were, in the twinkling of an eye, or in the space of a word speaking from *Smyrna*, vnto *Ephesus*, as some Histories report. That the power by which these things were done, was more then humane, no Reason can doubt. That also the voluntary accession of these mens disposing, or apting themselves vnto these workes, doeth prooue their consent, and by consent in consequence of reason, societie with a Spirit, who can doubt? And for this cause, *Binsfeldius* termeth it a tacit contract, as is aforesaid.

But here by the way, is iust occasion offered vnto a question; namely, whether a Spirit or Diuell can cause or bring to passe, that the same true body at once may bee really in two distant places, as it seemeth by this history of *Pythagoras*.

The answer hereto must needs in reason bee negative; because it is impossible in nature, and in the ordinary vnchangeable course of all things by God created, that one indiuiduall and continued substance, or entire thing should be wholly diuided from it selfe, and yet be it selfe, or possibly be twice, or bee in two places, and yet bee but one and the selfe same thing.

We must therefore rather here thinke that the diuell is a
Juggler,

Juggler, presenting the lively shape and pourtraiture of *Pythagoras* in one place, and thereto haply by his supernaturall power, adding a counterfaiit liuelihood of speech and gesture, while the true substance is certainly and truly seen in another place. That these like practises are usuall with the diuell, is apparent in many other kinds beside. Did hee not vndertake, *Matt. 4. verse 8.* vnto wisdom it selfe our blessed Sauour, to shew vnto him all the Kingdomes of the earth, a thing so farre out of his reach and compasse, but only by a lying and iugling vision? If this he doeth vnto the Sonne of God, how shall the silly sonnes of sinfull men escape? It is written by some Authors, that the diuell hath perswaded some foolish Sorcerers and Witches, that hee hath changed their bodies and substances, into Catts, Asses, Birds, and other creatures, which * really and indeed without illusion (if it be not presumption to reason with the Diuell) is impossible vnto him to doe. For there can bee no recall or true matamorphosing of one substance or nature into another, but either by creation or generation. The one is the sole immediate hand of God, communicable to no creature (because there cannot be two Creators) the other is naturall, the finger-worke and power of God in nature, and proper to the nature of liuing animate creatures, not to Angels or Spirits.

* Transformationes in carnos aut lupos phantastice et per praestigias et non realiter fiunt. August. de Ciuit. Dei cap. 18.

Againe, creation is the worke of an infinite power, and therefore of God alone, because there can be but one Infinite, whose nature containing all things, and contained of nothing, can admit no equall, no second, no other. The Diuell then cannot create. That likewise he cannot cause these transmutations by generation, is as plaine and euident, because a true and reall generation hath many precedent

* alterations, and by little and little in space of time groweth vnto the perfection of that kinde, vnto which it doth tend or is begotten; but these seeming transmutations by the Diuell of the substances of Men into Cattes, and the like, are swift and sodaine, in a moment, and without pre-

* Generatio non est nisi in tempore idq; apparata materia per antecessionem mutationis, quam Graeci ἀνωμαλίαν recentiores Ciceroniā maluerunt commutationem. Scal. de lib. exercit. 6, sect. 14.

paration : and therefore are no true, but seeming and juggling transmutations.

Here may be againe objected, that the Diuell is able to worke aboute the power of Nature; and therefore beside and aboute the naturall course of generation, hee is able to make these reall transmutations. It is answered, though the diuell indeed, as a Spirit, may doe, and doth many things aboute and beyond the course of some particular natures : yet doth hee not, nor is able to rule or command ouer generall Nature, or infringe or alter her inuiolable decrees in the perpetuall and neuer-interrupted order of all generations; neither is he generally Master of vniuersall Nature, but Nature Master and Commaunder of him. For Nature is nothing els but the ordinary * power of God in all things created, among which the Diuell being a creature, is contained, and therefore subiect to that vniuersall power.

a Natura est
ordinaria Dei
potestas.
Scalig.

For this cause, although aboute the power of our particular nature, the Diuell as a Spirit doth many things, which in respect of our nature, are supernaturall; yet in respect of the power of Nature in vniuersall, they are but naturall vnto himselfe and other Spirits, who also are a kinde of creature contained within the generall nature of things created : Opposite therefore, contrarie, against or aboute the generall * power of Nature, he can doe nothing. Therefore, to conclud this point, he cannot be able to commaund or compasse any generation aboute the power of Nature, whose power is more vniuersall and greater then his. We will then hence conclude, that aboute and beyond the vniuersall Nature and course of all generation, hee cannot make a true transmutation of the substance of any one creature into another.

* Natura est
vniuersalis, est
particularis.

It was before prooued, that it is impossible for him to doe it by creation. It is here manifest, that he cannot doe it by any course of true generation. There can be no real transmutation of one substance into another, without either a creation or generation. Wee will therefore conclude with
the

the saying of Saint *Augustine de Cinitate Dei, lib. 18. cap. 18. Nec sane Demones naturas creant, sed specie tenus, quæ à Deo creata sunt, commutant, ut videantur esse quæ non sunt*: that is, diuels cannot create any nature or substance, but in juggling shew or seeming onely, whereby with false shadowes and outward induced shapés couering those things which are created of God, by these commutations they cause them to seeme that which they are not, indeed.

Concerning other manifest jugglings and illusions of the Diuell, diuers authors haue giuen diuers examples, but that which aboue all the rest doth most palpably detect him herein, is a history related by *Ioannes Baptista Porta* in his second booke *De Magia naturalis*. He there witnesseeth, that vpon the Diuels suggestion, a Witch beleued firmly, and perswaded her selfe, that all the night she had rid in the ayre, ouer diuers great Mountaines, and met inconuenticles of other Sorceresses; when the same night the mentioned Authour himselfe, with others, had watched and seene her, all that imagined time of her transuention in the ayre, to be within her chamber profoundly sleeping; yea, had smitten her, made her flesh blue with strokes, and could not awake her, nor perswade her afterward, when shee was awaked that they had vsed her, or at all had either seene or beheld her. Thus preualent was the juggling power of the Diuell.

S. Austine de Cinitate Dei, lib. 18. doth deliuer an History concerning the father of one *Prasastinus*, whollying in a deep trance so profoundly that no meanes could awake him, did dreame (as when he awaked he did report) that hee was transformed into an Asse, and carried bagges or burdens of corne into a campe of Souldiers. At the same time, in the same manner, such a like Asse as hee in dreame imagined himselfe did bring such burdens into the same campe.

From these examples may bee iustly drawne a plaine demonstration of the Diuels palpable juggling and illusion, which also may serue for confirmation, together with the

reasons before annexed vnto my former answer, concerning the Diuels seeming, or deceitfull presentation of the reall body of *Pythagoras* in two distant places at once, in the same point of time: And from all these conioined and conferred, may be truly inferred and collected, that the Diuell as hee doth many supernaturall workes really, so he doth many other by illusion and beguiling the imagination.

These his jugglings notwithstanding are things also supernaturall, and tricks onely possible to Spirits and impossible to man. For it is impossible to man to frame so liuely a seeming presence of man in one place, that it shall not bee discerned otherwise then the very same true presence & real substance which is really in another place, as also to fasten such dreames as were before mentioned, vpon men, and according to those dreames to cause the things dreamed, by the witnesse and testimony of other beholders, to bee brought to passe in so liuely likenesse and similitude, as cannot bee discerned and discovered otherwise then the very same that they were in dreame likewise beleued.

From hence it doth also follow very necessarily, that what man soeuer shall vndertake these supernaturall jugglings, which are onely possible in the power of Spirits, & of the Diuell alone, is thereby astruely conuincied to bee a Witch or Sorcerer, as he that vndertaketh any of the former reall supernaturall workes, or any other of the like kinde, because they are both and all alike proper onely to the diuell, and wherein man can haue no property or power but by and through him: Let vs now then againe returne vnto the Diuels reall supernaturall performances and workes, vnto Sorcerers, from whence by the way of answer vnto the former doubt, concerning *Pythagoras* his supposed realty of being at once in two places, we haue hitherto onely digressed.

It is written as a thing vsuall vnto many famous Magicians, Sorcerers and Witches, vnto the view and sight of some admitted spectators, to raise resemblances of the dead, which seemeth a thing vndoubted by the Witch of *Endor*, raising

raising Samuel the Prophet vnto Saul the King before mentioned.

In this kinde those famous and renowned Witches *Medea* and *Circe* in old and ancient times are reported to excell. Hence among the Heathen had *Necromancie* the reason of the name and *sympantia* which is diuination by calling vp, or raising the dead.

Later times haue not been behinde former times in the record of the like: but to adde reason to inforce the truth of report herein; I will answer an obiection which may be made. Whether in these apparitions there be onely illusion and imagination; or some thing truely and really visible vnto the outward sense.

As touching the reall raising of the dead, it is impossible vnto the limited power of the Diuell, either in the substance of body or soule, to reduce or bring the dead back into this world, or life, or sense againe; because in death, by the vnnchangeable, and vnalterable decree of God in his holy Writ, the body returneth into dust from whence it came, and the Soule to God who gaue it.

Notwithstanding, since the outward shape and figure, and proportion of any substance, and not the substance it selfe, or creature, is the true and naturall object of the eye, according to the *Philosopher*, who truely saith, *Res non videntur, sed rerum species*; that is, the substances or things themselves are not offered, nor come vnto the sight, but onely their shape, and outward figure; as also for that common sense and experience doe teach vs, that it is a thing absurd, and impossible, that all those bodies and substances, which in infinite number wee dayly see, and behold really and materially in their corporall substances, and dimensions, should be contained in the small body of the eye: for these causes (I say) it is possible according to reason, that the Diuell in these supposed apparitions of the bodies and substances of dead men, may present true, reall, and naturall objects, certaine and assured vnto the eye and sight, if hee can onely present thereto the outward liuely pourtraictures,

and shapes of the substances or bodies, though the bodies themselves be away. That the Diuell can doe this, is no doubt. For if man by Art can vsually diuide the outward shapes, and figures of creatures and substances, from the substances and creatures themselves (as is apparent by the looking glasse) and the cunning Painter can in another borrowed substance, separated from their true, right and proper substance, represent perfectly the true and liuely shape of men, & other creatures, even when they are not onely absent, and remoued in farre distant places, but when oft-times they haue many yeares beene swallowed of the graue; why should it be thought impossible vnto the Diuell (who certainly is more then exquisite *Apelles* excellent) to offer and present vnto the eye likewise any true shape whatsoever?

If he can offer the true shape (as is not to be doubted) he doth offer a true and perfect obiect; and therefore that which is truly and certainly manifest to sense, although speech and the motion thereof, without another visible bodie to sustaine it (being impossible vnto shapes and pourtraitures drawne by men) be things supernaturall, and truly spirituall, which doe therefore make it a worke proper vnto the Diuell.

And thus it is apparent, that the supposed apparitions which the Diuell doth offer of dead men, may be esteemed and reckoned among such supernaturall workes of diuels and Sorcerers, as manifestly are brought to outward sense.

Now let vs turne to view some other kinds of the same workes of the same Authors.

It is reported by some Writers of worthy credit, that the bodies of Sorcerers & Witches haue bin really carried, and locally remoued from one place into another by the diuell.

And of later times (as *Bartholomaeus de Spina* doth witness) the inquisitions haue condemned vnto perpetuall prison, and their detained Witches, who by their owne confession, and others prouise, haue by the Diuell been transported into so farre distant places, in few houres, that afterward

ward it hath bin a trauell of many dayes, by their owne naturall power to retorne againe from whence they were manifestly by the diuell carried.

It is a thing likewise written and vulgarly receiued, that Witches are oft-times seene bodily to haunt places, fields, houses, graues, and sepulchers, in an vnusuall and miraculous manner and wondred fashion. These things, and infinite more, whether true or no, cannot be knowne, but to him that doth himselfe behold, and can from his owne sight auouch them really true, and not imaginarie. To performe some manner of asportation, and locall translation of the bodies of Witches and Sorcerers, it seemeth in reason a thing whereunto the Diuell is not vnable.

First, for that it appeareth within the power of a Spirit, by the history of the Prophet *Habacuc*, whom the Angel carried by the hayre of the head, out of *Iudea* into *Babylon*. The naturall faculties and properties of a Spirit, giuen in their creation, and by their essentiall formes vnited vnto them, the Diuell doth participate with all other Spirits whatsoeuer, though in his fall from heauen, he lost their true happinesse and perfect fruition in the face and fauour of God his Creator.

Secondly, for that there are vndoubted examples in holy Scripture, of the diuels power in the locall translation, not onely of bodies inanimate: as fire, windes, tempests, houses (as is apparent in the history of *Iob*) and of animate bodies also, or bodies of brute creatures (as is euident in the heards of swine which he carried headlong into the Sea) but likewise of the bodies of men, as is cleere in the Gospel, where it is said, that the Diuell did cast the bodies of the possessed into the midst of the people. If the Diuel could cast, or carry their bodies the distance there expressed (whatsoeuer or how little so euer it was) it doth manifestly prooue his power, in the locall motion of mens bodies, although the full extent of his power therein be not necessarily thence collected.

Concerning the taking the body of our Saviour, and fet-

ting it vpon a pinnacle of the Temple, I will not vrge, but do conclude vpon my former reasons sufficiently and necessarily, that the Diuell, where God himselfe doth not countermand, or prohibite him, hath power to dispose and transport our naturall bodies. I will not cite a multitude of Authors herein, and from them borrow needlesse examples. As some may bee true, so I doe not belecue all, and very few I wish trusted, where the prooffe doth not manifestly exceede all exception.

I conclude, that it is possible, that sometimes the supernaturall power of the Diuell in this kinde, as in other before mentioned, may appeare vnto outward sense manifest, and the Witch or Sorcerer be found a voluntarie with him. And as is said of this kinde, so may be said of many more besides those before mentioned.

Charmers.

Concerning the manifest supernaturall workes done by Charmers, who is ignorant? To omit the histories of *Medea* and *Circe* those old famous Hags, who were seene by charmes immediately to cause graine to wither vpon the ground; the current of waters to stand still; the streame to runne backe against the course, tempests, raine, thunder, windes to rise and fall at their word and command, for an assured testimonie of the true and reall harmes, which Charmers manifestly vnto outward view and sense did vnto the ancient world, is as yet extant so many hundreths of yeares, the Law of the twelue *Romane* Tables, wherein was a Decree and Statute made to preuent and restraine the manifest wrongs and iniuries of Charmers. *Alienas Segetes ne incantato*, saith the Law, *Alienas Segetes in-cantando ne pelleris*, that is, Let no man charme his neighbours graine. Let no man by charmes and incantations carry away or transport anothers graine. There are many other true reports and records of other wonderfull workes and supernaturall feates, all alike offered vnto the outward sence: There inumeration or citation is not further needfull. It is sufficient whatsoever or how many soeuer they be, that they are workes supernaturall, that they are manifest to sense, that they are of the

the Diuell, and that the Witch or Sorcerer doth manifest his guilt therein, by voluntary presenting himselfe therein, by manifest vndertaking any part or office in the performance or by promising, and according to promise causing to come to passe. The reason is infallible. He that doth vndertake voluntarily, doth present himselfe and doth promise and according to promise, cause to be performed that which is in anothers power, and impossible vnto himselfe, doth thereby necessarily and vnanswerably prooue himselfe to haue an interest, a power, a contract with that other, which for any may to haue with the Diuell, is society with Diuels, which is Witch-craft and Sorcerie.

And thus hath beene declared, how the supernatuall workes of the Diuell and Sorcerers may be manifest to the outward sense, and the true testimony thereof.

An obiection here may be made, that many of the former workes may seeme manifest to the sense, which indeed and truth are deceipts of the imagination and illusion, and therefore there can be no such certainty vnto the outward sense. It is truly * answered, He that wanteth so much true iudgement, as to distinguish when he doth see a certaine true object offered vnto his sight from without, and when he is incountred onely with a resemblance thereof from within his fancie and imagination, is diseased in body or minde, or both, and therefore is no competent Iudge or witness in these or any other weighty affaires. For that is in health of body, and in the outward organes and instruments of sense, and sound in his reason, iudgement, and vnderstanding, though sometime the fogge and mist of decciued sense, or fancy, ouersadow the brightnesse of true and vndecciued reason for a short time in him yet it cannot so perpetually eclipse it, but it wil recover his light and true splendor againe, and truth will shine more excellently in the end out of that darknesse. This is very liuely scene in the example of *S. Peter. Acts 12. verse 10. 12.* who at first did thinke he had onely scene the Angell which God sent vnto him to deliuer him out of bonds, in a dreame or vision: but

* Things imagined and fancied, easily discerned from those things which are reall and true objects of the sense.

when afterward he was come to himselfe, and his true sense and reason, hee then perfectly discerned and knew that he was really deliuered out of prison by an Angel of God.

If men could not certainly discern betweene that which they doe really see, and that they falsely imagine in visions, dreames and fancie, then were the life of man most miserable; there could be no certainty of truth, no excelling in knowledge or vnderstanding. All men should be a like vnable to distinguish, whether we liue in dreames onely, or in wakeful deed. But the certaine knowledge which God hath giuen vnto mankind in so infinite kindes and measures, doth prooue the eminence of reason and vnderstanding aboue the intanglements and deprefion of sense and fancie.

There remaineth as yet another doubt, which is, how those things which before were mentioned to be spirituall and supernaturall can be subiect in reason vnto outward sense or be knowne thereby, howsoever by the former examples, it doth so seeme. It is true that a Spirit and a Spirituall worke simply in it selfe in the owne nature and substance, cannot be seene by any bodily eyes, or be comprehended by any outward sense.

Notwithstanding, as they doe mixe themselves with bodily * substances, which are subiect to sense, by accident
 * Spiritus in-
 corpori & à
 sensibus no-
 stris remoti
 operibus can-
 spicui.
 Fernel l. 1. de
 Ab. Rer. caus.
 cap. 11.
 Spirits, and spirituall operations, are certainly tryed and discovered euen vnto sense. For how is it possible that a Spirit should mixe it selfe in corporall things, but the discrepant nature thereof, and mighty difference, must produce and beget some great apparent alteration, which alteration being beyond the wonted nature of the one, doth prooue another superiour nature in the other? For illustration hereof, let vs borrow an instance from one of the forenamed manifest Sorceries. Water is turned into blood by a Spirituall power. The eye doth manifestly see the water, and as apparently after see the blood, and is a true and vndeceined witnesse of both. Reason and common sense doe know the transmutation to proceede from an inuisible power, which appearing in visible bodies, is by them
 apart

apart scene, and doth detect an inuisible Author, because an immediate effect manifested to sense, doth necessarily in nature prooue the immediate cause, though hidden and vnknowne to sense. That inuisible and spirituall things may, by those things which are visible and bodily, be conceiued and discerned, the holy Scripture doth witnesse in these words of Saint *Paul*, *Rom. 1. 20* The inuisible things of God (saith he) are scene by the visible things, or by his workes in the creation of the world, which are visible.

It may be here demanded, since it is the propertie of the Diuell, in his seeming miraculous contriuements and actions (though a limited and finite object creature of God) yet to indeauour to counterfeit and imitate the most high and mightiest workes of wonder of the infinite Creator, thereby to magnifie, deifie, and equall himselfe vnto God in vnbelceuing and seduced hearts: Since, I say, this is his property, how shall the fraile vnderstanding and capacitie of man distinguish the maruailes of the diuell, so liuely resembled thereto, from the true miracles, and truly miraculous workes of God, that thereby with more facility, and lesse confusion, industrious mindes may discover the proper workes and acts of the Diuell, and his associates, Enchaunters, Witches, and Sorcerers? First, the true miracles of God being transcendent aboue all created power, and the immediate effects only of a creating vertue, Almighty God for his sole good will and pleasure doth vsually and euer dispense by the hands and through the administration of holy men, *Prophets* and *Apostles* manifestly called of God. Secondly, the end and scope of Gods miracles, directly and mainly ayme and are bent at the glory of God, and the benefit of his people, not vnto any private end, any particular vaine end, tending to satisfaction of priuate lusts and curiositie.

For this cause the holy Apostles vsed the gift of miracles not vnto any other ends, then vnto the confirmation of that holy Gospel, which they preached and published from God, neither did they therein ascribe ought vnto their own

praise or glory, but solely vnto the praise and glory of God, and the good of his Church.

That this was their true end, and ought to be the scope and end of all that receiue the power of miracles from God, Saint Paul doth witnesse and teach, 1. Cor. chap. 12. verse 4, 5, 6, 7. Now there are (saith he) diuersities of gifts, but the same Spirit: and there are diuersities of administrations, but the same Lord: and there are diuersities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is giuen to euery man to profit withall.

It is from hence manifest, that if any miracles proceede from God as Author, they are dispensed by men, sanctified by God, and who can and are able to prooue and iustifie their warrant from God: as also that these men of God doe solely profess and bend them vnto the glory of God, and the weale of his Church. This then is the square and infallible rule by which all miracles doe stand or fall, and are approoued either to be of God, or conuincd to be of Diuels.

Let vs then conclude this point, with that excellent and diuine saying of Theophilact, vpon the 9. chap. of S. Luke. *Pradicatio miraculis & miracula predicatione sanciuntur. Multi enim saepe miracula ediderunt per Demones, sed eorum doctrina non erat sana, quam obrem eorum miracula non extiterunt a Deo.* That is, the word of God doth establish and confirme the truth of miracles, and miracles ratifie and confirme the authoritie and truth of the word. For many haue done miracles by the power of the Diuell, but their doctrine was corrupt and not sound; and therefore their miracles were not of God. Wherefoeuer therefore miracles or supernaturall workes shall dare to shew their heads, not contained within those limits or compasse, that is neither prooued immediately from God himselfe, nor mediately by him reuealed in his writ & word of truth, they are iustly to be suspected to issue from the enemies of God; the Diuell, and euill Spirits, and therefore their Authors ought

to be accomptant therein vnto Iustice, and all religious Ministers and seruants of God and Iustice, in the most strict and seuer extent of Law. And thus much concerning the manifestation of the supernaturall workes of Witches and Sorcerers, vnto or through the outward Sense.

C H A P. VII.

The workes of the Diuine or Witches manifest to Reason, or consequence of Reason, and how detected.

ALl doubts being cleared, it hath vndoubtedly appeared how supernaturall and spirituall workes are apparent to sense. It now followeth to declare, how likewise they are euident to Reason, or necessary to consequence of Reason.

Those things are said to be proper objects of Reason and vnderstanding: which, being remote from the immediate view or notice of the outward senses, are grounded vpon vniuersall and intellectuall knowne positions, propositions, and certaine vndoubted generall notions, by necessary collections, or ratiocinations. That we may build the foundation of this our Reason or Ratiocination vpon the infallible truth of Gods holy Word which shall neuer be shaken: let vs for the detection of Witches and Sorcerers, by reason, and consequence of reason, syllogise directly and immediately from God himselfe.

Thus saith Almighty God, *Isaiah chap. 8. verse. 19.* And when they shall say vnto you, Enquire of those that haue a Spirit of Diuination, and at the South-sayers, which murmur and whisper, should not a people enquire of their God? Vnder this interrogatiue (should not a people inquire of their God?) is vnderstood this affirmatiue; A people should enquire of no other Spirit, but of their God alone.

From this holy text and writ, reason doth assume and collect necessarily, and truly.

First,

First, that many things are hidden from the knowledge of man, which are revealed vnto the science and knowledge of Spirits. Otherwise neither would man aske or enquire of Spirits (as hath beene vsuall in all ages) neither should God haue occasion here to forbid the enquiring at Spirits. That the ignorance also of man in things knowne to Spirits, is the true, first and originall motiue or reason for enquiring at Spirits, is very plaine by the words of King *Saul*, 1. *Sam.* 28. 15. God is departed from me (saith he) vnto the vision of *Samuel*, raised by the Diuell, and answereth me no more, neither by Prophets, neither by dreames: therefore haue I called thee, that thou maist tell mee what I should doe.

Here is a manifest grant of knowledge in Spirits aboue men. Secondly, reason doth hence collect, that all Spirits that doe suffer themselues to be enquired at, are euill Spirits, and therefore Diuels; because Almighty God hath here expressely forbidden the enquiring at any other Spirit beside himselfe: and therefore good and holy Spirits will not, nor * can not disobey the commandement of God, nor countenance or assist men in so doing. Thirdly, reason doeth necessarily hence conclude, that such men as are enquired at for reuelations of things hidden from the skill and possibilitie of knowledge in man, are Sorcerers, Witches, and South-sayers, if promising and performing according thereto really, and yet not warranted by God his word, nor assisted by nature.

The consequence and inference of this reason is iust; for that to promise those things, or to vndertake those things which are out of their own knowledge, and solely and properly in the knowledge of Spirits and Diuels, doeth manifestly proue in the performance, their interest, societie, and contract with Spirits and Diuels, which is Sorcery and Witch-craft.

It may bee here obiected, that there are some men who affect to bee resorted vnto, and to bee enquired at in things supposed hidden from the knowledge of man, and to be re-

* Angeli boni
non possunt
peccare, Pet.
Lomb. d. 7. l.

2.
This doth
cōdemne that
white Magick
or Theourgia
which is sup-
posed or pre-
tended con-
ference with
good Spirits.

puted

puted able vnto such Reuelations, though haply they practise to deceiue, vnder the colour of pretence, of such abilitye.

It is iustly hereto answered, that this their presumption ought to be seuerely enquired into, whether it doe taste of ought that is diabolicall, of the Diuell, or supernaturall: and if nothing so doe, yet in this Grand cause of God himselfe, the religious ieaousie of the prudent Magistrate, ought to punish their presumption, which dare affect to vndertake the name or note of a sinne, so odious and abominable vnto Almighty God. Let vs for better impression, againe repeate and iterate those things which were collected out of the propounded text.

First, that there is knowledge in Spirits of things hidden, and separated from the knowledge of man.

Secondly, that such Spirits as are enquired at, and doe reueale such knowledge vnto man, are Diuels.

Thirdly, that men which doe practise to be enquired at for such supposed Reuelations, ought not onely to be iustly suspected, and inquired into, but that if they be found therewithall, to know and reueale those things, which are indeed and really aboue and beyond the knowledge of man, and are properly and onely in the power of Spirits; that then this doth infallibly prooue their interest power, and societie with Diuels, which is certaine and assured Sorcery and Witch-craft.

And thus hath reason drawne a demonstration out of the booke of God, of a certaine Witch, and manifest Sorcerer. Let vs now exercise our selues in the consideration, examination, and tryall of some particulars herein.

It is said of *Apollonius*, that he foretold the day, the houre of the day, the moment of the houre; wherein *Coccius Nerra* the Emperour should die, long before the time and being in farre distant places remooued from him. It is reported of the same *Apollonius*, that being consulted by one who for that purpose came vnto him, how he might grow rich, *Apollonius* appointed him to buy a certaine

field or ground, and to be carefull in tilling and plowing thereof, which after he had done a while, he found in the end a great treasure and so became rich. It is written of the same *Apollonius* also, He made knowne vnto *Titus Vespasian*, the time and manner of his death, enquiring it at his hands. These things with many other the like *Ianus Lacobus Boissardus*, relateth in the life of *Apollonius*.

Who hath not heard of the name and mention of that famous and renowned *British* Wizard *Merlin*, and of his high and great esteeme among Princes for his prophesies? Vnto his fore-sight and predictions; from many foregoing ages, the successes and euents of diuers Princes affaires, in their seuerall raignes, haue bene vsually by diuers times and histories referred.

For this cause Master *Camden*, in the description of *Caermarden-shire*, doth terme him the *Tages* of the *Britans*.

Speede in his treatise of the ancient Inhabitants of great *Britane*; as also of the life of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and of the raigne of King *John*, and of *Henry* the fourth, doth out of *Malmesbury*, and others, recite diuers accidents and euents, in seuerall succeeding ages, vnto his oraculous and miraculous illuminations, ascribed to haue bene foreseene, foretold, and knowne.

If there be truth in those Oracles, and ancient foreseeing Reuelations, they doe necessarily inferre the assistance of a power, farre superiour vnto all the power of man. Therefore whosoener doth finde them true, must conclude their Author a Witch or Sorcerer. Neither hath the generall reception, or opinion of Authors, bene herefrom different, who haue published him the sonne of an *Incubus*, or the sonne of a Witch, begotten by the Diuell. As it is said of this ancient time-noted, and age-viewed Sorcerer; so may be testified of many other.

What shall we iudge of that infamous woman, among the French, called *Ioane of Arc*, by others *Ioane Pucell de Dieu*? *Iohn de Serres*, the French Historian, doth report that she had many miraculous Reuelations, whereof the King

King (then *Charles* the seauenth) and all his Armie and men of warre, were open wondering witneses, and in those reuelations for the most part, there was found no lesse wondrous truth, then true wonder, as saith *Serres*, although so ne others haue iudged her an Impostersse only. By her sole encouragement, and stout assurance of successe, built vpon miraculous reuelations, the French prosperously incountred the victorious English in France, at seuerall times, and against all humane reason, recovered their in reason-vnrecoverable, and most desperate standing, euen neere vnto the pit of vtter downefall, with more then vspeakeable amaze ment and terrour, vnto the sodainely confounded English.

Notwithstanding, at length shee was taken prisoner by the English, executed and burnt for her Witch-craft. What shall wee say or iudge of other the like Authors, and broachers of supernaturall reuelations, and predictions in other times? The fore-mentioned Historian reporteth, that a Wizard foretold Duke *Biron* of his death, and that hee should dye by the backe blow of a *Burguignon*, who afterward prooued his Executioner, beeing that Countrey man.

Melancton out of *Carion* doeth recite the mention of a woman, of the order of the *Druides* among the *Tungri*, who foretold *Dioclesian* that hee should bee Emperour of *Rome*, when he had first killed a Boare, which prooued afterward one *Aper*, then an Vsurper, which in the Latine tongue signifieth a Boare.

Suetonius writeth of a Diuinour, who long before was able to make knowne the death, and the manner of the death, and murder of *Iulius Caesar*.

Philippe de Commynes, in his 8. booke, chap. 19. doeth make mention of one Frier *Hierome*, and of his many admirable reuelations and predictions, concerning the affaires of the King of *France*, which as from Friers owne mouth, hee himselfe did oft heare, so with his owne eyes hee did witnesse and behold their issue true. It was di-

* Some Authors doe write, that this man was an holy man, and a man of God. If it may be prooued, that he receiued those his reuelations from God, I doe subscribe. If it cannot be prooued, that hee did receiue them from God, it is most certaine, that they were of the Diuell, since in supernaturall reuelations there can be no other medium.

* *Speede.*

sputed, whether in these transcendent reuelations the Frier were a * man of God or no, and it is doubtfully there concluded.

In these like reuelations and prophecies, reason cannot deny, but must acknowledge the manifest impression and stampe, of more then humane Science or demonstration. If wee desire or affect more specially to viewe what our owne Histories at home afford: who can deny him a Wizard, or Witch, who as Master *Speede* and others testifie, in the reigne of *Richard* the Vsurper foretold, that vpon the same stone where hee dash his spurre, riding toward *Bosworth* field, hee should dash his head in his returne: which prooued accordingly true, when being slaine in battell, hee was carryed naked out of the field, and his head hanging low by the horse side behinde his bearer, did smite vpon the same stone in repassage, where before in passage hee had strooken his heele and spurre.

What can be deemed lesse of the Author of that prophetic in *Edward* the fourth; that is, that * *G.* should murder King *Edwards* heires, which *G.* vnderstood of the Duke of *Glocester*, was too true.

How can he likewise escape the iust suspicion of the same foule crime, from whom originally or first was deriued that prophetic or prediction in *Henry* the fift, concerning his sonne, as yet then vnborne, *videlicet*, that what *Henry* of *Monmouth* should winne (which was *Henry* the fift) *Henry* of *Windsor* should lose (which was *Henry* the sixt and his sonne) as it after came truely to passe? These things as I said before, doe necessarily inferre a power farre superiour, vnto the power of man, and therefore prooue their voluntarie vndertakers Witches, or Sorcerers. This doeth *Binsfeldius* in his Tract, *de Malef. confessionis*, confidently as firme in these words, *Reserri non possunt ad causas naturales, sed ad Dæmonas hi effectus, nempe response dare de occultis ferri, per verum, per loca remotissima*. That is, these things can haue no relation vnto naturall causes, namely, to giue answer vnto things hidden from man, to flie in the ayre, and

and the like, but are to be attributed vnto the power of the Diuell, or Diuels.

But here may bee objected, that since it is said by God himfelfe, that no man ought to aske of any other Spirit, but of God alone, things hidden and vnreuealed to men, *Isa. 8. verse 19.* before alleadged; and since for that cause it is not to be doubted, that many things may be reuealed by God vnto men, for this cause and reason (I say) it may be deemed and objected, that some of the former reuelations and prophecies may bee free from the imputation of Witch-craft, and Sorcery.

It is vnanswerably answered to this objection: First, that all the reuelations and prophecies which are of God, are euer published by Prophets, & men of God, immediately called by God himfelfe, vnto those functions and places. Secondly, those vessels, and seruants of God, which are the publishers of Gods reuelations or pophecies, doe euer a- uouch, and openly professe God himfelfe, to bee Author thereof, from whom they onely claime, and openly proclaime their immediate, and expresse warrant and Commission, as appeareth by all the prefixions of their prophecies: Thus saith the Lord, The Word of the Lord, The burden of the Lord, The reuelation of Iesus Christ, and the like. Thirdly, the reuelations and prophecies, which are thus deriued and sent from God, carry in themselves some manifest stampe of their authority, and power from God, in some fruites or effects correspondent, and answerable to the nature, will, and pleasure of God, and are directly and originally bent, and intended vnto the glory of God, and the publike weale, and good of his Church, and people.

By these notes, and infallible markes of Gods holy prophecies and reuelations, may bee evidently discerned a cleere difference, and distinction thereof from diuellish predictions, and Sorcerous Prognostications, which therefore cannot throwde, or hide themselves vnder colour or pretense thereof, being duely and rightly expended.

It may bee yet further objected, that some learned and

truely religious seruants of God (though no publike Ministers, of Propheticall functions or callings) haue had sometimes their speciall reuelations of some particular things, in which it were not onely manifestly iniurious, but plainly & extremely ridiculous to accompt them Witches. It is true, and cannot be denyed, that Almighty God sometimes, by dreames, sometimes by secret prodigies, doeth admonish some his priuate seruants, good and holy men, of some things to come, for their owne priuate and retired reformation, information or better preparation; not for prophane or trifling ends, or vses, but that any prophecies or reuelations, can be of God, that are obscurely whispred, or cast abroad for such vses, by any vnwarranted or prophane Authors, without any manifest warrant, Commission or authoritie from God, in the vpright iudgement of all men, that truely worship and feare the true God, the God of hostes, is much irreligion, and prophane credulitie to touch, or affirme. Nay, it is altogether contrary and contradictory, and therefore impossible to God his miraculous reuelations, visions and prophecies, ordinarily, or commonly to serue, or waite vpon the ordinary ends, or vses of priuate men, since all true miracles, and miraculous reuelations are euer in their proper nature, and true end, solely attendant vpon God his immediate command and Word; vnto his extraordinary workes. To make it therefore ordinary, or a thing common, or of customary practice, to foretell or giue prediction of things to come, must necessarily proceede from the Diuell, since the gift of true prophesie, and the Spirit of true reuelation, is not subiected to the common or vsuall intentions of men; neither can profit or commodity, or sale bee made thereof by men at their pleasure, as is not vnwotted with all the disciples of *Simon Magus*, Sorcerers and Witches, in their markets and fares made of their prophecies and reuelations.

If then these whispred reuelations cannot bee of God, then are they necessarily of the Diuell. If they proceed from the Diuell; then by an ineuitable conclusion, those
men

men are his instruments or organs, by whom or through whom they originally flowe, or are deriued vnto men and published. It may be yet further objected, that in men possessed by the Diuell, as were those men in the Gospel, whose bodies the Diuell did really rend and teare (in whom hee did roare and crie out.) whom hee cast into the midst of the people. It may be (I say) objected, that in those possessed and the like, there may be revealed many things hidden from men, without the imputation or ill opinion of Witch-craft or Sorcerie in them.

That this may bee, is manifest in the Gospel, where the Diuell in the possessed uttered wordes of knowledge then hidden from men, but by extraordinary reuelacion, when hee acknowledged our Sauiour to bee Iesus the Sonne of the liuing God. This could not in any possibilitie of mans reason bee knowne vnto the possessed, because it was then but in part reuealed vnto the Disciples themselves, who were as yet but learners themselves and Scholers of that Diuinitie; neither had the naturall man or the world as yet so much as tasted, or sauoured any notice thereof.

The like may bee objected concerning those that are obsessed. I call them obsessed, in whose bodies burthwardly appearing no extraordinarie signes or tokens of the Diuels corporall presidence, or * residence in them (as was in the possessed manifest) yet are their mindes, vnderstanding, wils, and reason palpably obserued to bee besieged, captiued and enchanted; by an extraordinary and more then naturall, or rather an infernall inuasion of the Diuels illusions, for the magnifying and aduancing whereof, the Diuell doth oftentimes mixe and temper them with some rare and wonderfull reuelations, by or through the obsessed deliuered.

From these objections both concerning the possessed, and also the obsessed, doeth issue a necessary sequell, that prophecies and reuelations are not alwayes inseparable testimonies of a Witch.

* Master Perkins in his discourse of Witch craft chap. 3. pag. 132. doth diuide likewise Witches vnto such within whom the Diuell is not inwardly, but from without doeth inspire them and within whom he is, as was the Pythonisse at Philippi, Actes 16. 16.

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It is truly hereto answered, that solely and simply revelations are not sufficient evidences, or convictions of a Witch, or Sorcerer; but with difference and distinction.

Supernaturall revelations vnrequiredly transfused and transferred by the Diuell, doe not prooue the persons in whom they are found, to bee their owne free or desirous Agents in consent therein, but rather properly and truly the Diuels Patients, and therefore it cannot be their guilt, but his intrusion, usurpation, and insidiation: but supernaturall revelations, in which any man shall knowingly, and deliberately consult with, or inquire at a knowne Spirit, and inioying the free libertie of his will, not depraued or corrupted by illusions or diseases, shall with consent or allowance thereof entertaine, commerce conference or assistance of Spirits vnto that purpose: such revelations (I say) wherefoeuer truly and duely detected, doe demonstratiuely and infallibly point on a Witth or Sorcerer, by what way soeuer hee doe practise with the Diuell, whether by coniuration, spels, or other Magicke rites, or by vulgar trading with him, by familiar speech and expresse contract, as is most vsuall with vulgar and vnlearned Witches. It is not the different manner of contracting, or couenancing with the Diuell, that maketh a new or a different species of a Witch, for by what name soeuer, in what manner soeuer, any man doeth contract with the Diuell, hee is a Witch or Sorcerer, saith *Binsfeldius*, and inuocateth the Diuell.

Although therefore the possessed, or obsessed, are iustly acquite in their revelations and prophecies, because transmitted or sent vnrequired, and vnknowingly vnto them, yet cannot the Witch or Sorcerer bee any thing at all advantaged, or cleared in his revelations, which are euer detected to bee both by him affected (as is prooued by his mercinarie sale thereof) and also are fore-thought and premeditate, as is euident by his promised and couenanted vndertaking thereof, according to conditions or agreement.

That we may make this point yet more cleere, let vs yet farther examine, and consider what Witch-craft is. These are the expresse wordes of *Binsfeldius* a Papist Diuine, in his tract *de Confessionibus Sagarum & Veneficorum. Vt fiat maleficium hac tria concurrant necesse est inquit, Deus permittens, secundo Diaboli potestas, tertio hominis malefici voluntas libere consentiens.* That is, vnto Witch-craft three things necessarily concur: first God permitting: secondly the Diuell working: thirdly, man thereto consenting or yeelding his free-will. Vnto the very same purpose, saith a learned Protestant Diuine our countriman, *Perkins* in his description of Witch-craft, including the worke or assistance of the Diuell, the permission of God, and a wicked art freely practised by man, and chap. 5. of his discourse of Witch-craft, hee pronounceth also him a Witch, whose-uer wittingly or willingly consenteth to vse the aide or assistance of the Diuell, in the working of wonders aboue the ordinary course of nature. I name these two Diuines onely, because in this particular they seeme to mee to haue best satisfied, and by the common consent both of Papist, and Protestant Diuines, the trueth doeth more vncontrouersedly appeare Catholike and firme, most other learned men that I haue seene on both parts, hauing generally or for the most part comparatiuely beene defectiue. *Scaliger* in his booke *de Subtilitate*, consenteth with them both, *exercit.* 347. where speaking of the impossibilitie, of one man hurting another meerely by bare wordes, hee hath these wordes.

There is a greater power then wordes saith hee, namely, the Diuell doeth the mischief vpon the vttering of such words; and the foolish sottish man, that pronounceth or vttereth them, supposeth that by vertue of his words it is done. *Ipse igitur agit Daemon (inquit) stultus & vecors putat suis se verbis agere;* vnto the same effect are the words of *S. Augustine*, by Magicke Art saith hee, miracles and things aboue nature are brought to passe, *Miracula Magicis artibus fiunt. lib. 3. de Trinitate.* The word Magicke

doeth

doeth insinuate, or imploy, or include both a Diuell, and a supernaturall effect or miracle, as in the former words of *Scaliger*, also the supernaturall effect and consequent of mumbling, argued a power in them aboue the power of a meere voyce, or speech, which therefore saith *Scaliger*, was the Diuell. In both likewise, the will and consent of man was apparent. In the first, where S. *Augustine* calleth Magicke an Art, that imployeth a mans consent, for that Artes are willingly, and wittingly studied by man. In the second, where *Scaliger* in the mumbling of words of supernaturall effect, affirmeth that the foolish man who vttered them, supposed those effects to proceed from his words; his vttering therefore such words, with that expectance, prooued his liking and consent vnto such effects. And thus it is vndoubtedly apparent, by these Authors in their descriptions of Magicke, and Witch-craft, that necessarily by consent of reason, though not alwayes in expresse wordes, is vnderstood and included, both something supernaturall, and the will and consent of man thereto. And this may yet bee made apparent, by the words of the same *Scaliger*, *Exercit. 327. Magi (inquit) suas effectiōnes violentias appellant : propterea quod vires suas supra eas, qua natura ordine fieri videntur exercent.* That is, Magitians tearme their workes violencies, because they exercise violent force, or power, aboue the course or order of humane nature. The Magitians giuing names vnto their workes, aboue humane power or nature, and boasting them as their owne, doth prooue their free will and consent. Those their workes being supernaturall, doe prooue them to bee of the Diuell, as the very vsuall vnderstanding of the word Magitian, whereby they are ordinarily tearmed, doeth testifie. And thus it is manifest. First, that in Witch-craft the effect or worke done is supernaturall, aboue the reach and power of man. Secondly, that in that worke the Magitian, or Witch, hath a willing interest.

And hence now is manifest also, what Witch-craft is, namely, a worke or effect, aboue the nature or power of man,

man, wherein notwithstanding is the will, consent, and assent of man. This no man can deny, the demonstration being so euident.

It now followeth to enquire, how this Witch-craft shall bee detected, or discovered; Secondly, how shall mans free will, or consent therein be discovered. Vnto the first, is easily answered, *videlicet*, the supernaturall worke or effect doeth appeare by it selfe, when it is manifest and apparent about the nature, reach, and power of man, such as are diuers effects and workes formerly mentioned. Vnto the second I answere, that mans free will, good will, consent, assent, or allowance therein is discovered by the same true actes or meanes, whereby any man his consent or assent is vsually discovered, indicted, and arraigned in the case of Treason, Murder, Fellonie.

In case of Treason, Murder, Fellonie, consent is discovered in vsuall course and practise of the Law, either by some manifest act promoting or furthering those wicked intents, or by conniueance therein: by wilfully not seeing, or by silence, or not reuealing.

As therefore in those hainous crimes iustly; so in this high Treason against God, and adherence vnto his enemy the Diuell, in like manner any man his wicked assent, content, or good liking, is to be traced and discovered by any act tending vnto the promoting thereof, by his conniuing, willingly concealing, or silence: For as in case of Treason, Murther, Fellonie, whosoever permitterh or admitteth any of those crimes, whosoever only consenteth thereto, conniueh, keepeth counsell, or concealeth, is iustly by the law held, iudged, and condemned as a Traytor, Murderer, or Fellon himselfe; So by the same equitie and reason in high Treason against God (such as is Witch-craft and adhering vnto the Diuell his enemy) whosoever shall consent thereto, conniue, or giue allowance is certainly a Witch himselfe, and guilty of Witchcraft. This is the reason why all Writers, with one consent doe as well hold and condemne for Witchcraft the tacit contract as the expresse.

Wherein in expresse tearmes vocally any man couenanteth with the Diuell, or contracteth. A tacit contract is, when any man taketh vpon him to doe, that by naturall causes, which causes are allowed no such effects in course of nature, nor yet are allowed vnto any such effects beside the course of nature; Either by God, his Word, or by the Ordinances of his Church. To this effect expressly saith *Binsfeldius lib. de Confess. Malefic: & Sagarum: Tacite (inquis) innuocatur Damon quoties quis contendit illud, facere per causas naturales, que nec virtute sua naturali, neque ex Diuina, aut Ecclesiastica possunt illud facere.* To the same purpose saith *Perkins cap. 5.* of his discourse of Witch-craft, giuing allowance, saith he, vnto meanes not allowed by God maketh a Witch. That there are such effects, the same Author doth instance in another place, in these words, *Referrri (inquis) non possunt ad causas naturales sed ad Demonas hi effectus, ferri per aerem dare responsa de occultis;* That is, these effects cannot be referred vnto any naturall causes, but vnto the power of Diuels, namely, to flye in the ayre, to reueale things hidden from man. For this cause also saith *Perkins*, Diuining of things to come peremptorily, conuinceth the Author a Witch.

To conclude therefore, whosoever taketh vpon him to doe these things, or the like, and cannot iustifie them done according vnto the vertue or power of naturall causes, or (if besides course of nature) cannot prooue or warrant them to be of God, neither by his Word, nor Ordinance of his Church, that man is a Magitian, a Witch, or Sorcerer. But here it is requisite, and fit that men doe distinguish betweene things vnwarrantably done beside course of nature; and therefore necessarily to be tryed and iudged by those rules of Gods Word, and Church. And betweene those things, which are likewise vnwarrantably done, but are about the course of nature, yet are likewise to be tryed by the same rules, and limits of Gods Word, and Church.

For as besides course of nature are many things, as Sacraments

eraments, rites, Ceremonies. Which are to haue allowance of their being from the same limitations, or else are to be condemned. So there are things aboue nature as miracles, which also are to haue their allowance, and approbation by the former rules.

It followeth therefore necessarily from hence, that whatsoever supernaturall effect, or aboue the power, or nature of man doth happen, and is not warranted or allowed by God, his Word, or Church; that certainly is of the Diuell. If it be of the Diuell, then whosoever doth allow, yeeld his good will, consent, or by any way or meanes, or art doth promote or further, it is a Witch, as he who in Treason, or Murther, connieth or consenteth, is a Traytor or Murderer as is aforesaid. That a supernaturall worke, or an effect aboue nature, is to be held Diabolicall, is not only prooued by examination and triall of God, his Word, and Church, but reason it selfe doth also demonstrate it. Euery supernaturall effect, hath a supernaturall cause. Euery supernaturall cause is God, or the Diuell, there being no meane betweene, but one or the other. Good Angels or spirits doe worke their supernaturall effects also or aboue nature, but those their supernaturall workes are alwaies directed and commanded by God, and therefore are of God, and carrie with them euidence immediate from God. All supernaturall workes that are of God, are warranted from God. Therefore whatsoever supernaturall worke cannot be warranted of God, is of the Diuell. Whether it may be warranted to be of God, will appeare easily by the former limitations and rules. If therefore a supernaturall worke appeare not to be of God, by the former limitations, and examination; then is it certainly of the Diuell. By necessary consequence, therefore of reason it followeth, that whosoever vnto any such effect or worke, thus demonstratiuely discovered to be of the Diuell, doth giue any allowance or consent, though neuer so tacitly, or closely, yea though ignorant of the qualitie or degree of the sin, yet in his rash and vnaduised and inconsiderate yeelding or

conniuing therein, he is guiltie, accessary, and a very Witch himselfe, as is aforesaid in case of Treason, and the like grieuous offences against a Prince or State. For the ignorance of the law excuseth no man, yea and in this particular, So many faire directions by learned Writers giuen, doth leaue men inexcusable, and maketh ignorance willfull, and resolute, and excludeth easie pardon. Neither can the most simple ignorance iustifie any man, although it may qualifie the degree or grieuousnesse of punishment.

If this law seeme strict and hard. Let men consider the greatnesse, and grieuousnesse of the sinne, and the pernicious consequence thereof. Which iustly doth vrge, and impose the necessary; searefull rigour, and strictnesse of the law. The necessitie and equitie hereof is apparent in case of high Treason aforesaid against a Prince, or State, wherein vsually they who are simply, or ignorantly drawne, or vsed, or are instruments in any sort, to further or promote the mischief, are as well lyable vnto the seuerer inquisition, and terrible censure of the law, as are they who were the maine plotters and contriuers. Witchcraft is high Treason against God himselfe, a combining, and adhering vnto his enemy the Diuell, a desperate renouncing of God and all goodnesse, and a worship of Diuels. In this abominable sinne therefore, in any kinde or sort, in any manner or action, to befriend, aide or conuince is no lesse then high Treason against God also, wherein as well the accessarie as the principall are both guiltie. Whosoever therefore shall in matter of this high nature or danger, dare or hazard to doe any thing that may be questioned or iustly suspected in that kinde, or to tend thereto, cannot be by his ignorance excused.

Thus Obiections doubts and impediments remooued, let vs build a neuer-deceiuing, and inuolate conclusion concerning Witches, vpon this neuer-failing nor shaken foundation: that is, all supernaturall workes reuelations or prophecies whatsoeuer, that issue not either immediately, and manifestly from God himselfe, or from his Word
or

or Church allowed (the prooffe and touchstone whereof hath bene before touched, and briefly declared) or from the Diuell in the ignorant possessed or obsessed, or are not counterfeite and imposturous (which is likewise else where in the due place considered) all other reuelations or works (I say) whatsoever, not excepted nor included in one of these, are vndoubtedly issuing from Witches and Sorcerers, and are certaine and demonstratiue proofes and evidences of Witch-craft and Sorcery, in whom they are originally first detected. And thus how Reason doth cull and draw forth a Witch or Sorcerer, hath evidently bene cleared and declared.

C H A P. VIII.

Of diuers kinds and manners, wherein Sorcerers and Witches, receiue knowledge from Spirits.

AS Almighty God hath out of the Text before mentioned, *Isaiah 8.* in generall made euident, who is infallibly a Witch or Sorcerer: so hath he in other places of Scripture manifested some of their seuerall kinds, according to the different shapes and formes, in which they doe enquire at Spirits for their knowledge and reuelations.

This is apparent out of the 18. chap. of *Deuteronomie*, verse 10. Let none bee found amongst you that vseth Witch-craft. What Witch-craft is, was before out of the Prophet *Isaiah* declared.

Now in this place doth follow the enumeration of some of the speciall or particular shapes in which they shroud themselves. Let none be found amongst you (saith the Prophet) that vseth Witch-craft: and immediatly after doth adde those particular formes in which they enquire: A regarder of times: a marker of the flying of fowles: a Charmer: a Sooth-sayer, or that asketh counsell of the dead. As therefore before we prooued, that the infallible true note of a Witch in generall, and in common vnto all Witches,

ches, and Sorcerers, of what kinde so euer, is to be enquired at in things hidden from men (as is likewise by those words of *Saul* apparent, *Sam. 1. chap. 28. verse 7.* Seeke mee a woman that hath a familiar Spirit, that I may goe to her and aske of her:) so here in this text are reckoned vp some of their seuerall shapes, by which in true and sound reason, and the due consequent thereof, we may consider and collect many other, though not here numbred, or mentioned.

For since the common and inseparable signe or marke of Witches is certainly made knowne to bee, the practise of reuealing vnto men that enquire those things which are hidden from men, and onely reuealed by Spirits: it followeth by necessarie consequent, that not onely those which are here specially nominated, in that shape of marking of the flying of fowles, or of charming, or of raising the dead, but all other whatsoever, in what other shape so euer that is, hath, or can be deuised, that shall be found to practise or vndertake to be enquired at, and to giue answer and reuelation of things separated from the knowledge of man, and which God hath hidden from men, and therefore hath forbidden by Spirits to be made knowne to men; all such (I say) in what shape so euer, as well in these kinds here named, are, according to the generall note of a Witch, to be iudged Witches and Sorcerers.

For as the holy Scripture hath nominated and pointed out vnto vs some few kinds, as a light onely vnto all the rest: so may common experience by these bring others vnto our view, and all ages haue vpon the records of time and Historie, left vnto succeeding posteritie, many shapes more of memorable and famous Witches, not onely in these shapes and formes shrowded, which are here mentioned but in many other.

Besides those kinds therefore, which here the holy Scripture hath nominated, let vs take a short view of some other, which are in other shapes found (since all are in their common kinde and nature the same.) It is no strange thing, that

that in the shape, and vnder the pretense of *Astrologie*, Astrologers, some men haue hidden sorcerous practise, and performing vnder the colour thereof such things as were onely in the power of Spirits, haue thereby cleerely manifested, that they deriued and borrowed them of Spirits. *Saxo Grammaticus*, in his historie *de rebus Danicis*, doth make mention of a sort of Wizards, who would vndertake for gaine, to foretell the certaine state and constitution of weather to come so assuredly, that they would vsually sell vnto Marchants prosperous and fortunate windes, when by aduerse and opposite gales they were deteyned from their intended voyage.

This kinde of Sorcerer may very rightly be referred vnto that which in *Deuter. 18. verse 10.* is noted by a regard of times, which perhaps may also not vnaptly be vnderstood a *Magicall Astrologer*. His performance about the nature and power of his Art, of that which is onely in the power of a Spirit, doth both detect the Diuell to be chiefe Author of the workes, and the other to be also guilty to the worke.

That the professors of *Astrologie* haue in former ages vnto *Astrologie* ioyned this diuellish skill and custome; as also other kinds of Diabolicall Diuinations, plainly doth appeare.

First, by the word of God, *Daniel 2. verse 2.* wherewith the *Astrologers*, the *Caldeans*, *Magicians*, *Sorcerers* and *Enchanters* are conioyned.

Secondly, it doth appeare by the Lawes, which by the Romane Emperours were provided against them ioynly together, with *Caldeans*, *Magicians*, and *Southsayers*. The words of one ancient Law are, *Nemo Aruspitem consulat, aut Mathematicum, nemo Ariolum, Caldeum, Magum*; that is, let it be enacted or ordered that no man aske counsell of a South-sayer, a Mathematician, an Astrologer, a Caldean, a Magician.

Dion in the 27. booke of Historie, doth make mention of Astrologers, who by diuellish skill practised and vsed to

* This kinde of Diuell is called, *impugnatus*. send the Diuell to present * dreames vnto men In their sleepe; for which cause *Tiberius* the Emperour reuenged himselfe vpon such Astrologers, though otherwise himselfe a great friend and louer of Astrologie. Sir *Christopher Heydon* in his defence of iudiciall Astrologie, doth out of *Osiander* recite this distinction of Astrologie: * *Astrologia pura qua nihil habet de Magia*, that is, Astrologie that is not mixed, nor intermedleth with Magicke. Whereby is necessarily concluded, that Astrologie may be, and sometimes is impure and defiled with Magicke and Sorcerie. In other places of the same worke, he maketh a difference betweene Astrologers * simply, and such as with Astrologie ioyned Magicke. And out of *Bremius* he reciteth these words, *Non negat Hierimias eam partem Astrologia, qua sequitur manifestas naturae rationes*; that is, the Prophet *Ieremy* doth not deny or condemne that part of Astrologie, which is guided by manifest reason or cause in nature. Herby then is vnauidably concluded, that the Prophet of God condemneth that part of Astrologie, which exceedeth causes and reason in nature, and that necessarily must needs be Sorcery and Magicke. As it is not obscure, that some men vnder the colour of Astrologie haue practised Magicke and Sorcery; so is it no lesse euident, that many others, vnder the pretense of aduising and counselling in Physicke. For curation or Prognostication of diseases, haue likewise exercised the same diuellish practise.

* Page 27.

* Page 29.

^a Hipp. libro de Sacro morbo de Magis.
^b Dioscor. li. 2. cap. 102.
^c Theophrastus de hist. Plant. Trallianus. lib. 9. cap. 4.
^d Galenus li. de Medica Homeri tractatione.

That this hath beene no new vpstart custome, the multitude of diseases, which ancient times doe register to haue beene cured by enchaunted Spels, and words, and Magicke skill, doeth plentifully witnesse. The most ancient father of all Physicke and Physicians, the incomparable worthy founder of Method and Art, ^a *Hippocrates*, ^b *Dioscorides*, ^c *Theophrastus*, with other succeeding Ancients, doe generally all acknowledge the force and power of Magicall curation. *Galen* in his younger time gaue no credit thereto, but in the more aged ^d experience of right obseruation he doeth acknowledge it. I will not stuffe this small Treatise

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tise with the particular citation of euery Author. Later Physicians also of the best and most choise note, doe herein, with former ages consent and concurre, and experience doeth confirme trueth in both.

Whosoever is acquainted with bookes and reading, shall euery where meete a world of the wonders of cures, by wordes, by lookes, by signes, by figures, by characters, and ceremonious rites. As what the practise of former ages hath beene is manifest; so what our age and later time doeth herein afford, is almost nowhere in this kingdom obscure. The neereſt vnto that impudence, which herein this our time doeth produce and set forth, is that history of a *Germane Witch*, reported in the *Malleus Maleficarum*.

There was (as the Author of that worke saith) sometime a Sorceresse in *Germany*, who vsually cured not onely all that were bewitched, but all kinde of diseased people, so farre beyond all power or course of Art and Nature, and with such facility, that all vse of the Art of Physicke, or of Physicians was altogether (for a time) neglected and forsaken; while people from all Countries, both neere and remote, in such numbers and frequence resorted vnto her, that the Gouvernour of that Countrey imposing vpon euery man one penny that resorted vnto her, thereby raised himselfe a mighty treasure.

What others among the most ancient Author, that are not Physicians doe publish, concerning the power of incantations in the curing of diseases is needlesse to write. Hee that hath read any few lines of old *Homer*, or of diuers other aged Poets, shall finde plentiful record hereof. *Herodotus* is not silent herein. But to omit all their needlesse testimonies, Physicians of these last times, of the most eminent note and worth (whose pennes are yet scarce drie) doe witnesse the trueth hereof from their owne knowledge, sight and experience. About the rest, *Fernelius de Abditis rerum causis*, is worthy any mans paines or view.

Let vs now lastly see what may bee collected out of the

booke of God, concerning the power of the Diuell in curing diseases, from whom all these inferiour Agents, Witches and Sorcerers doe deriue their power and skill. If it bee in his power, where God doeth permit, to induce diseases, it must needs bee in his power to cease or calme diseases; because both causing and curing, consist in the vertue and force of the same meanes. Hee therefore that knoweth how and by what cause the disease is induced, doeth necessarily vnderstand, that by the remouall of that cause it is cured, and according to that rule can equally, as well by remouall of that cause, cure, as by the induction of the cause bring sicknesse. For this reason it is a maxime in Physicke infallible, that he is the most excellent Physician, who knoweth best the causes of diseases, and who vpon the knowledge of their true causes doeth found the right method of their curation.

That the Diuell doeth both know the causes of diseases, and also how by them to procure and produce diseases, is manifest by the History of *Iob*, vpon whom he brought that grieuous generall botch and byle, ouer all his body, *Iob chap. 2. verse 7*. That hee did this by the force of causes in nature, must needs bee euident. First, because hee is a creature, and subiect and limited by nature vnto and within her lists; and therefore is not able absolutely and simply without causes and meanes in nature, to produce any effects in nature, although our ignorance of his power and knowledge (because it so farre excelleth our power or nature) doeth call all his workes iustly supernaturall. Secondly, for that byles and botches are knowne naturall diseases; and therefore had naturall causes, although haply vknowne to any man, and beyond the nature of knowledge or skill in man.

* Creatio est
constitutio
substantia ex
nihilo, Scali.
de Subt. Exerc.
cit. vi. Sect. 13

These reasons of the Diuels impossibilitie, to worke those effects without nature, are thus yet more briefly and cleerely made infallible. Of * nothing simply to produce any thing vnto a true being and existence, is the sole and proper worke of any infinite Creator, and impossible vnto any

any creature. Therefore the Diuell being a creature, could not bring those diseases vpon *Joh*, but by created meanes preexiſting in created nature, in which he is contained and limited. And thus much concerning that kinde of Witch and Sorcerer, which is enquired at concerning the curing and iſſue of diſeaſes, which we will conclude with this note, that all learned men of the beſt experience haue obſerued; that in thoſe cures by Witches and Sorcerers, the Diuell hath neuer perfectly healed, but for a time; or elſe where hee hath ſeemed moſt perfectly to cure, it hath bene for a reſeruatiō of the body by him cured, vnto a greater and further miſchiefe in time to ſucceede. Beſides, this kinde of Witch, by meanes vnknowne to man, or by a ſupernaturall vertue in knowne meanes, aboue and beyond their nature, vndertaking to cure the ſicke, or to foretell the euent and iſſues of diſeaſes, there is alſo another kind which doeth vndertake to bee enquired at for extraordinary reuelation of ſuch diſeaſed perſons, as are bewitched or poſſeſſed by the Diuell. This kinde is not obſcure, at this day ſwarming in the Kingdome, whereof no man can bee ignorant, who luſteth to obſerue the vncontrouled libertie and liſenſe of open and ordinary reſort in all places vnto wiſe men, and wiſe women, ſo vulgarly termed for their reported knowledge concerning ſuch diſeaſed perſons as are ſuppoſed to be bewitched.

Wiſemen and
Wiſewomen.

But it may bee obiected, that many of theſe two laſt mentioned ſorts are rather deceiuers, and Impoſtors onely, who by an opinion of this power, and not by any reall power herein, doe deceiue, ſeduce, and beguile the people. This cannot in ſome be denied: notwithstanding leaſt impious impoſture bee ſtill tolerated to bee a couert to hide the maniſeſt diuellish praſtiſe of Witches, vnder pretenſe thereof (whereby it ſhall euer continue in this ſhape neglected or vnſpied) I will both briefly giue ſatiſfaction how the one may bee diſtinguiſhed from the other, and alſo declare how men ceaſing to enquire at Diuels and Wirches, or Impoſtors, may learne to enquire of their

God alone, and by the light of nature and reason (which hee hath given vnto them) in his seare, with his allowance and approbation, more truely and certainly informe themselves.

C H A P. IX.

Of Wizards and Impostors, how they differ from Witches.

HOW Witch-craft in diuers kinds may, according to euidence of reason, be detected, hath beene before made manifest. How imposture may be discovered (sense there is so good vse and necessitie of the distinction thereof, for the more perfect separating and setting a part of Witch-craft by it-selfe) wee will likewise briefly make manifest.

* Qui oculos
fallent, alia
pro aliis sub-
ditiā osten-
tantes, ii pr-
stigiatores ab
antiquis disti-
sunt, Scaliger.
Impostura
ab eo dicta,
quod adulteri-
nas merces,
pro veris sup-
ponit, Vlpian.
Impostores
dicuntur ver-
suti & fallaces
homines, qui
merces ad-
ulterinas pro
veris suppo-
nunt, Accursi-
us.

a Ephes. 4. 14.
b Col. 2. 23.

* The Impostor is he who pretendeth truth, but intendeth falsehood. For this cause sometimes vnder an holy pretense, he maketh God the^a Author of his vnholly prestigation, and slandereth God vnto his face, sometimes to be reputed an^b Angell of light, he maketh himselfe a license to counterfeit the Diuell. He proposeth it his trade to seduce, and liueth by lying. Sometimes in shew and pollicitation he is a Witch: but in the performance of the greater sinne hee is lesse iust, and in the personate resemblance solely a Iugler. For as the Witch performeth that which in true, and infallible reason is transcendent and aboue nature; so the Impostor performeth that which in false and fallible reason and opinion, onely seemeth parallel.

Hence as Witches doe strange and supernaturall workes, and truely vnto reason worthy of wonder; so the Impostor doth things voide of accomptable reason, in shadow, shew, and seeming onely supernaturall, wondred and admired. And hence it commeth to passe, that with vndiscerning mindes, they are sometimes mistaken and confounded * on for another.

* See Reginald Scot in his discouerie of Witch-craft, where in regard of the seeming likenesse of Impostures and Witch-craft, erroneously he confoundeth them as one and the selfe same sinne.

From

From hence it is also necessarily concluded, that as Witchcraft is discovered by a supernaturall worke about reason, whereto the Witches consent is accessary; so an Impostor is detected by a worke void of accomprable reason, but in a deceiuing false Visar or shew, wherewith the purpose and intention of the Deceiuer or Impostor doth concur. As therefore the suspected Witch is tyed to answer vnto any iust doubt, which may bee directly vrged against his or her manifest voluntary action, that is prooued supernaturall: so is a truly doubted Impostor bound to giue satisfaction, for such his ambiguous actions, as doe in likely reason appeare fraudulent, vaine, prestigious, iuggling, couzening, or deceiuing. And thus shall each appeare in his owne true shape apart. Of diuers kinds of Witchcraft, I haue before produced examples.

I may here likewise very pertinently, for further illustration, propose some examples of Imposture in generall, that the odiousnesse of this foule sinne may appeare more foule, and the ougly face thereof may be more fully discovered. *Examples of Imposture in generall.*

Among multitude of examples, I will recite onely some few, whereof some consist in lewd and guilefull contriuement of action, other in the bewitching power of false prophecies, reuelations, predictions, and prognostications.

Concerning the first, who can be ignorant of the impious and infamous Impostures of *Mahomet*, who by guilefull counterfeite miracles, and pretended angelicall illuminated workes, first magnified and set vp that heathenish * Empire, and Religion of the blasphemous *Turkes*? *Example 1.*

The History of *Sebastian*, the pretended Portugall King, as it is set forth by *Iohn de Serres*, according to Master *Grimstones* translation thereof (if he were a true Impostor indeede, and were not iniuriously traduced, and blurred with vnderferued reproch) is an incomparable example, above and beyond many other. I will referre my Reader to the Author himselfe. *2.*

If we desire more neere or domesticall examples herein, behold, in the raigne of *Henry* the seuenth, * a boy of * *Speede*.
meane

meane parentage, through imposturous machinations opposed, set vp and crowned King in Ireland, against that famous and renowned Prince *Henry* the seuenth, putting him in great danger of his life and crowne of England.

4. In the late raigne of *Queene Mary*, there arose an Impostor, stiling himselfe *Edward* the sixth. The danger of the progresse of that Impostor (if it had preuailed) who knoweth not? The manifest wrongs, iniuries, and impeachments also from counterfeite prophecies, reuelations, and predictions, issuing not only vnto priuate men and families, but vnto Kingdomes, Empires, and Common-weales, are infinite.

5. *Julian*, an *Emperour of Rome*, though otherwise a mightie and learned Prince, and valiant souldier, by a prophecie of an Impostresse or seeming Pythonisse, promising his conquest, and triumph ouer the Kingdome of *Persia*, was thither hastened vnto his deserued death, and the vengeance of God vpon his infamous *Apostasie*.

6. It is reported by *Iohn de Serres*, the French Cronicler, that the power and force of some pretended reuelations, and visions of a young Shepheard, in the raigne of *Charles* the seuenth King of France, was so preualent, that it perswaded *Poshon* that great and famous French Captaine, with the Marshall of France, to arme and incounter the then victorious English in the bowels of that Kingdome; by which vnadvised attempt, the French were suppressed and taken by the English.

7. It is recorded by the same Author, that one *Martha Brosier*, counterfeiting the fits and passions of such as were possessed, in short time became so powerfull in illusion, that she ministred much matter of wonder and amazement, not onely vnto priuate men, but vnto the Kings Counsell, to Preachers in pulpits, yea vnto the whole Parliament, vntill the counterfeite Diuell induring some punishment and restraint, forsooke his pretended possession.

8. If wee require examples in our owne countrey, behold, in the raigne of *Edward* the fourth, his brother *George*

* Duke

From hence it is also necessarily concluded, that as Witch-craft is discouered by a supernaturall worke aboue reason, whereto the Witches consent is necessary, so an Impostor is detected by a worke void of accomptable reason, but in a deceiuing false Visar or shew, wherewith the purpose and intention of the Deceiuer or Impostor doth concur. As therefore the suspected Witch is tyed to answer vnto any iust doubt, which may bee directly vrged against his or her manifest voluntary action, that is prooued supernaturall: so is a truly doubted Impostor bound to giue satisfaction, for such his ambiguous actions, as doe in likely reason appeare fraudulent, vaine, prestigious, iuggling, couzening, or deceiuing. And thus shall each appeare in his owne true shape apart of diuers kindes of Witch-craft, I haue before produced examples.

I am here likewise very pertinently, for further illustration, propose some examples of Imposture in generall, that the odiousnesse of this foule sinne may appeare more foule, and the ougly face thereof may be more fully discouered. Examples of Imposture in generall.

Among multitude of examples, I will recite onely some few, whereof some consist in lewd and guilefull contriue-ment of action, other in the bewitching power of false prophesies, reuelations, predictions, and prognostications.

Concerning the first, who can be ignorant of the impious and infamous Impostures of *Mahomet*, who by guilefull counterfeited miracles, and pretended angelicall illuminated workes, first magnified and set vp that heathenish * Empire, and Religion of the blasphemous *Turkes*? Example 1.

The History of *Sebastian*, the pretended Portugall King, as it is set forth by *Iohn de Serres*, according to Master *Crimstones* translation thereof (if he were a true Impostor indeed, and were not iniuriously traduced, and blurred with undeserued reproch) is an incomparable example, aboue and beyond many other. I will referre my Reader to the Author himselfe. 2.
* Polidorus
Virgil lib. 7.
cap. vult.

If we desire more neere or domesticall examples herein, behold, in the raigne of *Henry* the seventh, * a boy of * *Speede*. 3.
mean e

meane parentage, through imposturous machinations opposed, set vp and crowned King in Ireland, against that famous and renowned Prince *Henry* the seventh, putting him in great danger of his life and crowne of England.

4. In the late raigne of *Queene Mary*, there arose an Impostor, stiling himselfe *Edward* the sixth. The danger of the progresse of that Impostor (if it had preuailed) who knoweth not? The manifest wrongs, iniuries, and impeachments also from counterfeit prophecies, reuelations, and predictions, issuing not onely vnto priuate men and families, but vnto Kingdomes, Empiers, and Common-weales, are infinite.

5. *Julian*, an Emperour of *Rome*, though otherwise a mightie and learned Prince, and valiant souldier, by a prophecie of an Impostresse or seeming Pythonisse, promising his conquest, and triumph ouer the Kingdome of *Persia*, was thither hastened vnto his deserued death, and the vengeance of God vpon his infamous *Apostasie*.

6. It is reported by *Iohn de Serres*, the French Chronicler, that the power and force of some pretended reuelations, and visions of a young Shepheard, in the raigne of *Charles* the seventh King of France, was so preuaient, that it perswaded *Posthon* that great and famous French Captaine, with the Martiall of France, to arme and incounter the then victorious English in the bowels of that Kingdome; by which vnaduised attempt, the French were suppressed and taken by the English.

7. It is recorded by the same Author, that one *Martha Brosier*, counterfeiting the fits and passions of such as were possessed, in short time became so powerfull in illusion, that she ministred much matter of wonder and amazement, not onely vnto priuate men, but vnto the Kings Counsell, to Preachers in pulpits, yea vnto the whole Parliament, vntill the counterfeit Diuell induring some punishment and restraint, forsooke his pretended possession.

8. If wee require examples in our owne countrey, behold, in the raigne of *Edward* the fourth, his brother *George*

* Duke

* Duke of *Clarence*, was hastened vnto his vntimely death, * *Speede*.
euen by the allowance of his brother King, vpon the feare
of a vaine and flying prophecie, that G. of King *Edwards*
heires should be the murderer.

In the time of *Henry* the eight, the holy Maide of *Kent*
by her seeming miraculous reuelations, deceiuing not one-
ly the common sort, but euen diuers learned and some
men of the best ranke, and prime note, stirred vp in the
King great iealousie, and feare of his Crowne and safety,
as by the records of her attaindour doeth appeare, where-
in doeth stand prooued and sentenced her treason-some
imposture of most dangerous consequent, if it had obtained
equall issue.

In the same kings raigne, the bewitching esteeme, credit,
and hope of force & vertue in counterfeited predictions, and
pretended reuelations, whet the ambitious heart of *Ed-
ward* * *Lord Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, first into high * *Speede*.
Treason, and to reach at the Crowne, and after from
thence thrust him headlong or headlesse into his graue.

In the raigne of *Edward* the sixth, there was a prophecie
divulged from the mouth of some pretended Wizard; by
which the coniuration of *Kett*, and those *Norfolke* Rebels,
was hartned and encouraged to proceede in their rebellion
and outrage, vnto the great danger and damage of the
Kingdome, and in the end vnto their owne destruction:
That blind pretended prophecie, in the insidiation of vaine
and credulous mindes, was somewhat like vnto that ambi-
guous Oracle in the Poet.

Aio, te *Eacida* Romanos vincere posse :

I say, the sonne of Eacus the Romane power shall quell.

This Oracle may on either side indifferently, either ac-
tively or passively bee vnderstood. Like vnto it was that
prestigious prophecie, which the rebellious *Norfolcians*
with their *Kett* trusted :

*Hob, Dic, and Hic with clubbes and clouted shooes,
Shall fill up Duffin-dale with slaughtered bodies soon.*

The Rebels vnderstanding this blinde reuelation, or prediction, concerning the victory wherein they themselves should bee Agents and not Patients, (as afterward their owne ruine did truely interpret it) and dreaming the filling vp of the *Duffin-dale* to be intended of other mens dead bodies, and not their owne, where thereby incited with furious courage, vnto the hazard of the kingdome and their native Country, vntill their owne mangled and slaughtered carcases became butchered spectacles, and bloody monuments of such illusion and imposture.

12.

* *Speede.*

How many other fearefull and horrid treasons haue bin built and grounded vpon other the like prodigious impostures? To recite the damages and wrongs done vnto priuate men by imposture in manifold kinds, were infinite. What should wee mention *Prior * Bolton* of *St. Bartholomewes* in *London*, who in the raigne of *Henry* the eight, vpon the impression of an vniuersall World flood, grounded vpon pretended miraculous predictions, ridiculously buildeth himselfe an house or nest on the top of *Harrow hill*, to saue himselfe from drowning?

* *Philippe de
Communes,
booke 4. cha.
10. taxeth
our English
Nation for
the multitude
and vanity of
flying Pro-
phesies in
this kinde.*

What mighty terrors did the wicked imposturous predictions of strange euents in the admirable yeere 88. strike into the common people or vulgars of England? from whence, what different distractions in many priuate men did bring foorth, to relate, were iust matter of profound laughter. What translations of dwellings, peregrinations into other Countries, exchange of inheritances for monies, and other ridiculous extravagant molitions did the approach of that yeere diuerfly prepare? I will not waste paper in any more * particular recitals: Our later age and time hath not beene barren of many wicked and harmefull fruites of imposturous prophecies, neither haue they altogether escaped the eye of Iustice, nor the blurre of infamy
written

written in their names and chronicled memory. And although many impostures (because practised vpon priuate and more obscure personages) are lesse knowne and published, then such as are committed against Princes and States, and therefore are more remarkeable in the eyes of all men, yet are they both equally in their natures pernicious. It were not now impertinent from the declaration of the mischiefs of imposture in generall, to descend vnto some such in particular, as are practised vnder the lying pretense and false colour of a transcendent and Magicke vertue. In examples of this kinde, *Reignald Scott* doeth ouer-abound in his discouery. I haue my selfe noted and knowne some men (I could say some men of the Clergie) who to draw wonder and custome vnto their practise in Physicke (wherein Sacriligiously they spend their best and chiefe time and howers, with open neglect of God and his seruice.) I know some I say, who are not ashamed prophanely and most irreligiously, to affect among vulgars, to gaine the opinion of skill in Coniuration, Magicke, and Diuell-charming.

Examples of
imposture
vnder colour
of Magicke
skill or Witch-
craft.

By this imposturous Art or deuice many yeeres together (not among men Religious, Orthodoxe, or iudiciously learned) but among vulgars, and sometimes also among some great and mighty men) they haue become vnworthily magnified Physitions, aboue other farre more worthy, and performing sometimes, some things praise worthy (as is oft-times contingent vnto the meanest practisers) they still gaine countenance, and time to robbe God of the first frutes of their time, strength, and labours, and the Church of their more requisite maine study and employment. It is not vnknowne how common it is among these men, to professe the erecting of figures, the giuing of answeres as Wizards, the reuealing of things hidden, as Magicians, vnto the great dishonour of God, the shame of the Church, the Lawes and Kingdome. How vsuall it is with many other Iuglers and Mountibankes, by the reputation of Witches impostorously to promise, and vnder-
L 2

dertake

dertake miraculous curations, and Prognostications of diseases and their issues, is not vnknowne vnto any common obseruer : wherein, for breuitie sake, and to auoide confusion, and the crambe or iteration of the same things. I will referre the Reader to a former manuell, called *The discovery of Erroneous practises in Physicke*, where although, by reason of my absence beyond and beside the *Errata*, many errors both in some words and sense, doe still remaine ; yet there are many things in this kinde worthy notice. Read page 71. the Treatise of Wizards ; likewise, in the second marginall note of the page 53. an History of a Chirurgeon, famous in curing such as were bewitched : Likewise page 109, 110. 111. an History of imposture, vnder the colour and pretense of the inspection and iudging of Vrines : and likewise, page 60. and from thence vnto the end of that whole Chapter. There is a very rare, but true, description of a Gentlewoman, about sixe yeeres past, cured of diuers kindes of convulsions, and other Apoplectike, Epileptike, Cataleptike, and Paralytike fits, and other kindes of accidents of affinitie therewith. After shee was almost cured of those diseases, but the cure not fully accomplished, it was by a reputed Wizard whispered, and thereupon beleued, that the Gentlewoman was meere bewitched, supposed Witches were accused. The Gentlewoman hath beene free from all those accidents there mentioned, the space of sixe yeeres now past.

* Plurimæ autem passiones puerulis iudicantur in septem mensibus nonnullæ in 7. anno Hipp. Aphor. 28. lib. 3. Morbi Diutini ad septenarii rationem habent Crisim, non septenarii quoad menses modo, sed quoad annos. Galen. in dictum Aphorism.

In this last past seuenth yeere, since the writing of that history, some of the former fits are * critically againe returned : the same Wizard or Deceiuer resorted vnto and enquired at, doeth now againe auouch her to bee bewitched ; vpon opinion whereof and trust in his illusion, the timely vse and benefit of due counsell hath beene much omitted and neglected. Her diseases which formerly, farre exceeded these which now are, in number, frequency and vehemence, were in shorter space cured, and so continued the space of sixe yeeres together. These few which now doe returne, due counsell and time neglected, though being

being in number fewer, lesse intricate, and farre lesse violent, haue notwithstanding a farre larger space of time continued.

If that Counsellor or vnderfaker to counsell, be a Wizard in name and reputation only (as I doe gesse and deeme him) then is this History an incomparable example and instance of the wickednesse, impietic and crueltie of imposture and Impostours. If he be found a Witch, then is it an vnanswerable euidence and instance of the Diuels iuggling, lying, illusion and deceiuing, whereof we made mention and prooffe before in the question or doubt concerning *Pythagoras* realty in two places. For, in true reason and iudicious discerning, it is as cleere as the brightest day, that no accident befalling the Gentlewoman mentioned, can be other then naturall, or farther supernaturall, then either the Diuels credit with a Witch, or an Impostours credit with deceiued and seduced men is able to inchaunt perswasion vnto vaine affiance in them. I referre the Reader to the consideration of the History at large, with that which here is added: I will only exhort all men not to be in those doubtfull cases, too violent, nor rash in asking or beleeuing vnworthy or worthlesse counsell, but to aske it of such as are truly and godly learned and prudent, and not of Impostours or Seducers, considering that the consequence of rashnesse, mistaking error and ignorance; are no lesse then the life or death of the sicke, a putting out of the eyes and light of reason, which God and Nature hath giuen man to walke withall in the darke pilgrimage of this life; a deprivation of due remedies which God hath allowed (while beguiled with vaine and foolish opinion, with wilfull blindnesse, they worthily esteeme nor, nor will expect his grace and fauour therein.

Assuredly, he that doth giue vp himselfe to become a prey to folly and illusion, and led by deceiuers headlong into confused, vniustifiable, vnwarranted and inhibited explorations and trials, doth forsake the guidance and vse of right reason, and in stead thereof, is intemperately distra-

sted with impatience of expectation of due respect and esteeme of Gods ordinance and allowance in his ordinary meanes, may iustly feare that God hath decreed and determined, not onely to dispoile him of that common blessing which he hath promised to all that duely seeke, and rightly vse his allowed meanes; but also that he leaueth him vnto the cursed path and way of perpetuall blindness and hardnesse of heart therein, except his speciall and extraordinary diuine grace in time reduce his dangerous steps. For certainly he vnto whose blinded eyes God doth offer so great mercy and fauour, as is plainly euident in all his ordained ordinary meanes, vnto euery good that befalleth man in this life, and with thankfulness cannot or will not behold it, when it is laid at his vnthaukfull feete, is in a desperate way of a lethargicall disposition, or senselesse memory and obliuion, both of his reason, and of himselfe, and of Gods mercifull goodness towards him. And thus the vgliness of imposture both by the description thereof, and also by example doth appeare; wherein may be first seene, how they that trust thereto, doe forsake God, themselves and their owne common sense and reason, and giue themselves to be swallowed vp of lying and illusion. Secondly, in the whole course of imposture it selfe, is seene the continuall practise of mercilesse impietie, the vsuall wrong of the afflicted, the belying of truth, the deceiuing the miserable, the deprivation of the sicke, of the vse of due remedies and meanes which God hath made and blessed vnto men, that with praise vnto his name, patience and due dependance vpon his providence therein, can be contented to seeke and expect the likely and hopefull issue thereof, in vsuall course of nature. Lastly, may be collected, and obserued, the vse and necessitie of distinction betweene Imposture and Witch-craft; namely, that the odious and abominable firme of Witch-craft be not suffered to continue, vnregarded or neglected, vnder the colour of vaine Imposture, and that the Diuell be not suffered to liue amongst vs, too commonly, and too openly, in the coate and

and habite of a foolish Impostor, or Iuggler. For certainly nothing doth more hood-winke the through discovery of Sorcerers, then remissionesse and omission of inquisition, and castigation of Impostors, out of whose leauen (no doubt) but diligent animaduersion, might oft-times bout out many a subtil and concealed Witch.

C H A P. X.

How men may by reason and nature be satisfied, concerning such sicke persons as are indeede and truly bewitched.

IT followeth now, according to promise, briefly to point vnto direction, how men leauing to inquire at Witches and Sorcerers, and Impostors, concerning the sick, supposed to be bewitched, may inquire and be better satisfied by the light of Reason, which God hath given vnto them. Reason doth detect the sicke to be afflicted by the immediate supernaturall power of the Diuell, two wayes: The first way is, by such things as are subiect and manifest vnto the learned Physicion onely: the second is, by such things as are subiect and manifest vnto a vulgar view.

Those things which are manifest vnto the Physicion alone are of two sorts. The first is, when in the likenesse and similitude of a disease, the secret working of a supernaturall power doth hide it selfe, hauing no cause or possibiltie of being in that kinde or nature. The second is, when naturall remedies or meanes according vnto Art and due discretion applyed, doe extraordinarily or miraculously either lose their manifest ineuitable nature, vse, and operation, or else produce effects and consequences, against or about their nature, the impossibilitie of either of these in vsuall or ordinarie course of nature, doth certainly prooue an infallibilitie of a superiour nature, which assuredly therefore must needs be either Diuine or Diabollie.

This conclusion concerning the infallibilitie of a supernaturall mouer, from the like assumption, the learned and worthy

worthy preseruer of reuerent antiquitie, Master *Camden*, in his description of Cheshire, hath truly inferred vpon the miraculous preclusions, and presages, euer and prepetually forerunning the death of the heyres of the house or family of the *Brierions*. These and such like things (saith he) are done either by the holy tutelers Angels of men, or else by Diuels who by Gods permission mightily shew their power in this inferiour world.

Whensoeuer therefore the Physicion shall truly discover a manifest transcending power, manner, or motion in any supposed disease, there is an vndoubted conclusion of the Author. Where likewise remedies finde concomitances, or consequences contrary to their nature, or such as neuer were, nor euer can be contingent in course of nature: this assumption truly granted, doth inuincibly inferre a transcendent force and vertue therein neuer to be denied. The Demonstration hereof is euident. A proper cause is certainly knowne where is detected his proper effect. *Ergo*, where is effected ought supernaturall, there is infallibly discovered a supernaturall cause.

This how diseases, and the wonderfull accidents which oft happen in diseases, may be by the Physicion detected, according vnto the rule of reason, whether induced by the Diuell or no, is briefly pointed at.

How the guilt of any man therein with the Diuel (which doth onely conuince a Witch) may and ought appeare, hath beene before declared, and shall likewise hereafter be further made cleare.

It will not now be immateriall or vnprofitable, for confirmation, illustration, and better prooffe of those two waies, which are distinguished to be onely subiect, and manifest vnto the Physicion, in the detection of the secret workes of Diuels and Witches in diseases, to produce one or two examples of both.

Concerning the first, *Fernelius* in his 2. booke *De Abd. Rer. causis*, chap. 16. deliuereth a history of a yong man of a noble family, who was by a violent convulsion in an extraordinary

ordinary manner long time tormented. Diuers learned Physicians remained long time doubting and vnſatisfied, both in the cauſe of this diſeaſe, as alſo of the ſeate or place where the cauſe, with any ſufficient reaſon, might be iudged ſetled.

Behold very pregnant inducements of the finger of the Diuell, moouing in the diſeaſe. One was the incredible velocitie of motion in the diſeaſed, impoſſible vnto the force of man: the other was, for that in all the fits and conuulſions, though very ſtrong and vehement, his ſenſe and vnderſtanding remained in the diſeaſed, perfect and nothing obſcured, or interrupted, which in conuulſions according vnto naturall cauſes was neuer ſcene, and is impoſſible.

The force of theſe reaſons to euince the preſidence of the Diuell, in the manner and motion of the fore-named diſeaſe, the Diuell himſelfe did ſhortly after iuſtifie, declaring and profeſſing himſelfe the Author thereof in plainly expreſſed words.

In the fore-named booke and chapter, there is another report or relation of a man ſudainly ſurpriſed, with an extraordinary ſaſhion, or ſhape of madneſſe or phrenſie, wherein he vttered and reuealed things hidden, and of profound Science and reuelation, not onely aboue the pitch and power of naturall capacitie, and the ſtimulation thereof in diſeaſes contingent, and the forgerie of fained extaſie, but really in true and vpright iudgement, and vnpartiall diſcerning of a Phyſition beyond all queſtion and exception ſupernatuall. The ſequelle after made it good. Theſe examples are ſufficient vnto men that are wiſe, and with whom reaſon hath authoritie. I doe not affect vnaduifed multiplication herein, ſuſpecting many histories, and reports of diuers Authors.

The poſſibilitie of thoſe which are here produced, beſide the vnſtained credit of the Author, is apertly confirmed by the holy Scripture, where, in the Lunatike the Diuell maniſeſted himſelfe by actions, onely proper and ap-

propriate vnto the power of a Spirit : such was his casting the Lunatike into the fire, and into the water, his violent rending and tearing him, which were things by the Physition iudiciously distinguished, in most part impossible vnto the power and nature of the Lunatike himselfe, or of his disease alone, though not all.

The man possessed among the *Gadarens*, *Matth. 8. Mark. 5. Luke 8.* likewise doth establish the same, who was knowne and seene evidently by the Physition, how farre simply or solely diseased, and how farre possessed beyond diseased extasies by those vndoubted workes, and that finger of the Diuell, when he easily brake in peeces those yron chaines wherewith the Lunatike was bound : so that no force thereof whatsoeuer could hold or binde him ; as also when he vttered and spake that more then humane vnderstanding and reuelation of Iesus Christ to be the Sonne of God : a knowledge as yet vncommunicated vnto mankinde, and vnto reason impossible.

Concerning the second way of detection, subiect vnto the Physition alone, namely, when naturall remedies aptly applyed, are attended with supernaturall consequences, contrary to their nature, or aboue the same, out of the former Author, and fore-named place. there is an example also without farther straggling of vnquestioned estimation. A certaine man there mentioned, vehemently burning and thirsting, and by intolerable heate compelled to seeke any mitigation, or extinction of his heate and thirst, in want of drinke or other sitting liquor, happened to finde an Apple, in the moisture and naturall iuice whereof, hoping the vsuall short refreshing of the tongue, he, after the first tasting thereof, immediately found (not onely that which was contrary to the nature of an Apple, greater burning and thirst then before) but had instantly his mouth and iawes so fast closed and sealed vp thereby, that he hardly escaped strangling.

The reasonable doubt of the latitation of the Diuell, in this faire, harmelesse, and vsuall remedie of the tongues, thirst

thirst and drines, was afterward made more euident and manifest by the sudaine and swift oblesion of his minde, with frightfull visions, whereof as in the disposition, temper, substance or qualitie of his braine or body, there was no ground or cause, so in the Apple it selfe, was no other pernicious mixture, but that the Diuell, as with *Iudas Sop*, though wholesome and sauing in it selfe, so in this medicinall fruit, entred and possessed, where God permitted. The like may be said of other both outward and inward remedies, which by a Magicke power are and may be oft interrupted, turned and bent vnto a vse contrary to their nature.

For this cause *Hippocrates* himselfe in his booke *de Sacro morbo, & de Natura muliebri*, doeth acknowledge many accidents, as also diseases and remedies themselues to be diuine, as hauing their cause and being aboute the course of nature. When therefore fitting vnto any cause, matter, or humour in the body, according to true Art and Reason discouered, apt and fit remedies, are aptly and fitly by the iudicious Physitian applyed, notwithstanding, contrary to the nature and custome of such remedies, they haue vnusuall and iustly wondered effects, is there not iust matter of doubt concerning an vnusuall and extraordinary cause answerable thereto? The deepe and mysticall contingents in this kinde, and their hidden reason and cause, the vnlearned man, or he that is not exercised in difficult discoueries, cannot discerne, nor can the intricate and perplexed implications therein, of doubts and ambiguities, possibly become intelligible in euery ordinary apprehension; yet by the former easie and familiar example, euery man may gesse and coniecture at the most abstruse. The subtiltie of the Diuell doeth easily deceiue a vulgar thought, and in the clouds and mists of doubts and difficulties beguileth vsually the dimme sight and disquisition.

The learned Physitian, notwithstanding possessing true iudgement and learning; who doeth and can warily obserue, and distinguish first the wonders of nature vnknowne vnto euery mediocrity of knowing: secondly, the true wonders aboute nature in due collation with nature to be knowne, doth

not easily or rashly with vulgars, erre or runne mad in the confusion of vaine and idle scruples. The wonders of nature, are such naturall diseases as are seene in their wondred and admired shapes or mixture, to haue a great likenesse or deceiuing identitie with such maladies, as are inflicted by the Diuell. The wonders aboue nature, are such diseases, as are truely and vndoubtedly knowne and prooued to haue no consistence, or power of consistence, or cause in sublunary nature.

For illustration hereof, I will giue one materiall instance fitting our present time, that shall apertly without exception manifest the distinction of both these kinds, therewith declaring the great oddes and difference betweene true knowledge and vnderstanding in the learned Physition, and the amazed wonderments of vulgars and ignorant men.

There are vulgarly reported among our English vulgers to bee in the bodies of many Witches, certaine markes or excrescencies which are vsually deemed the randevowe of the Diuell, where by couenant hee doeth sucke the blood of Witches. These excrescencies are vsually described to beare sometimes the shape of Wartes and Teates, or some other such like tumours. They are most commonly found in the priuie parts. They are found sudainely after their appearance, sometimes to vanish. They doe oft bleed, and therefore are vulgarly deemed, the remaining dropping of the Diuels sucking.

There are diseases likewise, like vnto these by Physitions many hundreth of yeeres published, & both by ancient Physitions and Chirurgions, as also by those of later times oft cured. That this be not esteemed as a wonder, or a fable, I will produce some of their seuerall shapes; described by seuerall Authors, and will cite them according to their vsuall names which are these, *Thymion, Nymphæ, Cleistoris, Cercosis, Morum, Albascæ, Ficus, Marisca.*

Of the first thus saith *Paulus Aegineta* in his sixth booke, and 71. chapter. It is an excrescence or eminence, standing out from the rest of the flesh, sometimes red, sometimes white,

thirst and drinesse, was afterward made more euident and manifest by the sudaine and swift obsession of his minde, with frightfull visions, whereof as in the disposition, temper, substance or qualitie of his braine or body, there was no ground or cause, so in the Apple it selfe, was no other pernicious mixture, but that the Diuell, as with *Indus* Sop, though wholesome and sauing in it selfe, so in this medicinall fruit, entred and possessed, where God permitted. The like may be said of other both outward and inward remedies, which by a Magicke power are and may be oft interrupted, turned and bent vnto a vse contrary to their nature.

For this cause *Hippocrates* himselfe in his booke *de sacro morbo, & de natura muliebri*, doth acknowledge many accidents, as also diseases and remedies themselves to be diuine, as hauing their cause and being aboute the course of nature. When therefore fitting vnto any cause, matter, or humour in the body, according to true Art and Reason discovered, apt and fit remedies, are aptly and fitly by the iudicious Physicion applyed, notwithstanding, contrary to the nature and custome of such remedies, they haue extraordinary, cause answerable thereto: The deepe and mysticall contingents in this kinde, and their hidden reason and cause, the vnlearned man, or he that is not exercised in difficult discoveries, cannot discerne, nor can the intricate and perplexed implications therein, of doubts and ambiguities, possibly become intelligible in every ordinary apprehension; yet by the former easie and familiar example, every man may gesse and coniecture at the most abstruse. The subtilty of the Diuell doth easily deceiue a vulgar thought, and in the clouds and mists of doubts and difficulties beguileth vsually the dimme sight and disquisition.

The learned Physicion, notwithstanding possessing true iudgement and learning, who doth and can warily obserue, and distinguish first the wonders of nature vnkowne vnto every mediocrity of knowing: secondly, the true wonders aboute nature in due collation with nature to be knowne, doth not easily or rashly with vulgars, erre or runne mad

in the confusion of vaine and idle scruples. The wonders of nature, are such naturall diseases as are seene in their wondred and admired shapes or mixture, to haue a great likenesse or deceiuing identity with such maladies, as are inflicted by the Diuell. The wonders about nature, are such diseases, as are truly and vndoubtedly knowne and prooued to haue no consistence, or power of confidence, or cause in sublunary nature.

For illustration hereof, I will giue one materiall instance fitting our present time, that shall apertly without exception manifest the distinction of both these kinds, therewith declaring the great oddes and difference betweene true knowledge and vnderstanding in the Chirurgion or learned Physitian, and the amazed wonderments of vulgars and ignorant men.

There are vulgarly reported among our English vulgars to be in the bodies of many Witches, certaine markes or excrescencies which are vsually deemed the randeou of the Diuel, where by couenant he doth sucke the blood of Witches. These excrescencies are vsually described to beare sometimes the shape of Warts and Teates, or some other such like tumours. They are most commonly found in the priuie parts. They are found sudainly after their appearance, sometimes to vanish. They doe oft bleede, and therefore are vulgarly deemed, the remaining dropping of the Diuels sucking.

There are diseases likewise, like vnto these by Physitions many hundreth of yeeres published, and both by ancient Physitions and Chirurgions, as also by those of later times oft cured. That this be not esteemed as a wonder, or a fable, I will produce some of their seuerall shapes, described by seuerall Authors, and will cite them according to their vsuall names which are these, *Thymion, Nympe, Cleustoria, Cercosis, Morum, Alhasce, Ficus Marisca.*

Of the first thus saith *Paulus Aegineta* in his sixth booke, and 71. chapter. It is an excrescence or eminence, standing out from the rest of the flesh, sometimes red, sometimes white,

white, for the most part without paine, the bignesse of an Egyptian beane and of the colours of the flowers of *Thyme*. They are found, saith he, in the priuie part of women, and are cured by cutting them away. *Ioannes Hucherius* of the Citie of *Beuois* in *France*, sometimes one of the Kings counsell and Physicion vnto his person, in his second booke concerning barrennesse doth testifie, that the former excrecence doth sometimes grow in some length, sometimes in the hands, sometimes in the scete, sometimes in the thighes, sometimes in the thighes, sometimes in the face, but saith that they are most troublesome in the priuie parts both of man and woman.

Celsus saith in his first booke chap. 28. that these excrecencies doe sometimes open and bleed, & send out blood. *Thymion* (inquit) facile finditur & cruentatur, nonnunquam aliquantum sanguinis fundit. *Antonius Musa* vpon the 26. *Aph.* of *Hippocrates* the third booke testifieth by his obseruation in diuers particulars, that the former disease or excrecence doth oft-times weare and vanish away without helpe or remedie.

The second disease or excrecence called *Nympha*, *Paulus Aegineta*, in his 6. booke 8. chap. doeth describe to be a swelling or growing out of a peece of flesh in the secret part of a woman rising oft-times vnto an vdecient fashion and a great bignesse. *Auicenne* deliuereth the same description. *Tom. 1. Fen. 21. Tract. 4.* and *Albucaasis Chirurg. Part. 2. Chap. 72, 73, 74.*

The third excrecence called *Cleitoris* is little different from the former by the description of the same Authors. *Anicen lib. 3. Fen. 28. Paulus Aegineta* in the fore-mentioned place.

The fourth excrecence called *Cerrosfis* the same Author in the same place compareth vnto a long taile and saith, that it hangeth downe, and issueth out of the part before mentioned in women, and is cured by being cut away.

The fift excrecence called *Morum* hath that name from his likenesse vnto a Mulberrie.

The sixth, called *Albacea*, from his likenesse vnto a Bramble leafe. *Ancienne Tom. 1. lib. 3. Fen. 21. Tract. 4. cap. 20.* As for the seventh and eight Excreescences, growing likewise as the rest about the secret parts, they haue beene so commonly in auncient times knowne, that *Martiall* the Poet out of his owne acquaintance with them, hath made sport thereof in wittie verse.

*Dicemus ficus quas scimus in arbore nasci,
Dicemus ficus Cæciliane tuos.*

Of the *Marisca*, thus also writeth *Iuuenal.*

Creduntur tumida medico ridente, Mariscæ.

Of these *Mariscæ* thus saith *Antonius Musa* vpon the *Apb. 30. lib. 3.* Wee call them, saith hee, crests or combs, from their likenesse vnto the combe of a Cocke, which saith he, if they bee not in time cut away, and cured by actual cauteries, they are neuer cured at all. Thus much concerning these diseases, out of learned Authors. Let vs now consider these naturall diseases, which are called wonders in nature, (because not ordinarily or vulgarly seene) with those markes of Witches or diseases, and excreescencies effected and caused by the Diuell in Witches, which (therefore must needs be wonders aboue nature.) Let vs (I say) compare them together, the one with the other. Their exceeding neere neighbour-hood and likenesse, no common vnderstanding, as they are described truly and linely, can chuse but acknowledge. To confound or mistake the one for the other, is very easie, but yet dangerous and pernicious. I will not denie against due testimonies, and the free confessions of the Witches themselves, that such markes may bee by the Diuell vpon couenant made, in way of an hellish sacrament, betweene the Diuell and the Witch: but where the confession of the Witch her selfe, being free from iust exception doeth not appeare, nor the Diuell to any spectators, doeth shew himselfe in the act
of

of sucking, which hee neuer doeth (as my incredulous thoughts perswade my selfe) where I say, these appeare not to be manifest without fraude, there it is requisite, and necessary, that either wee discharge the Diuell, and acquit him of the slander, or else discouer it by some other signe or note, which may iustly be appropriated vnto the Diuell, that his finger or guilt hath beene therein.

This is reason, without which ought bee no perswasion. Euery tree is to be knowen by his owne fruit, saith our Saviour. Therefore the diuell, is to be knowne by the workes, and fruites of a Diuell, proper and belonging vnto him. Trie and discerne the Spirits, (saith the Scripture) whether they be of God, or no. And how can they bee discerned, if there were not some notes, or properties knowne vnto holly discerning mindes, whereby they may be discerned. It is madnesse therefore, to suppose it possible to know that which is done by a Spirit, wherein is no euidence, impression, signe, shew, or propertie of a Spirit. For as a naturall cause cannot bee knowne, but by his naturall effect; so is it impossible, that a spirituall cause should be knowne, but by some supernaturall effect. For this cause, in all places of Scripture, where are set forth the outward workes, or actions of the Diuell, they doe there likewise all appeare to be his, in some extraordinary & supernaturall note or maner.

The casting the bodies of the possessed in the Gospel, into the middest of the people, was a thing extraordinary, impossible, and vnusuall vnto the voluntary motion of men alone. The bringing of fire from Heauen to deuoure so many of *Iobs* sheepe, was in the manner beyond the nature vsuall, and ordinary force, or custome of fire. The carriage of the herds of Swine headlong into the Sea, was manifestly beyond the nature of their naturall motion, yea, against their nature.

Here may be objected, that the Diuell doeth ordinarily worke, and produce things of seeming wonder, and strange consequence, wherein notwithstanding, doeth not appeare any signe or impression, of any supernaturall cause or author,

thour, as is seene in many things produced in men, and issuing from his vsuall tentations of men.

The answer is, that the Diuell doeth worke vpon man, two wayes.

The first is, immediately by the temptings, and soliciting only of man vnto workes, which properly are affected by man himselfe, in the vsuall course and power of mans nature.

The second is, immediately by his owne proper action, as hee is a Spirit, and immediately worketh in himselfe, the worke of a Spirit.

In the first, the Diuell is not properly said to worke in himselfe, but rather to giue and offer occasion vnto the disposition and affections of man, thereby exciting, and tempting man vnto that worke, which therefore onely carrieth the stampe of a worke, proper vnto a man.

In the second, the Diuell worketh immediately himselfe, as he is a Spirit, and in that worke therefore must necessarily likewise bee seene, and appeare the stampe of a Spirit, since in the course and order of all things created whatsoever, the true and immediate cause, his immediate true and proper effect, is the sole true infallible stampe, euidence, and prooff thereof.

The workes therefore, which are called or esteemed the Diuels, in regard of his tentations, and incitations of man, vnto foolish, wicked, and oft wondered mischieuous actions, are onely and truly called diuelish, as proceeding from the Diuels instigation onely, but are not truly or properly, or immediately any workes of the Diuell, and therefore it is not requisite, that in such workes of the Diuell, vnproperly called his, there should appeare any signes, proper vnto the workes of a Spirit or Diuell.

Since then it is infallible, that there can bee no possible discovery of any cause whatsoever, naturall, or supernaturall, but by such accidents, effects, or properties as properly belong, or issue from that cause, and since proper effects appearing, doe onely discover their causes more cleerely,

cleerely, where they appeare more cleere, and more obscurely, where they doe appeare more obscure, and nothing at all, where they appeare not all : Since I say this is true, and neuer to be infringed, those supposed Witches markes, before they can iustly and truely bee iudged to bee by the Diuell effected or vsed, must by some stampe or signe proper to himselfe, or to his workes, or to his vse or proprietie therein, be so determined and conuincd to be.

The wonder indeed of their strange shapes, forme and manner, is sufficient to amaze such as are not iudiciously read, or are vnlearned : but the Phisition who knoweth such diseases to bee in nature, by that knowledge of their nature, knowing likewise that they doe not exceede nature, doeth iustly stand apart, and diuide himselfe from the vulgar errour and opinion, that they are any markes to be appropriate vnto the Diuell.

And hence appeareth the necessitie of conuincing the forementioned Witches markes to bee supernaturall, before vpon their shape or appearance onely, it can bee esteemed iust, either to impute vnto the Diuell, or to call any man into question. Before they can bee truely iudged or determined, whether supernaturall or no, the necessitie of consulting with the learned Phisition, is likewise demonstrated. Of which wee may yet againe, giue another demonstration within the same instance. It hath bene sometimes by oath confirmed and deposed, that those forementioned markes of Witches, haue (immediately after they haue bene seene) sudainely vanished to bee no more seene. The question may bee, whether their sudaine disparence after their manifest appearance, bee in nature possible vnto such like diseases or no. It is knowne vnto the Phisition, that many diseases doe insensibly grow, and insensibly also weare and vanish away, without any knowledge or notice thereof taken by the diseased. This therefore solely can bee no note of a supernaturall marke, whatsoever passionate ignorants fondly dispute, to maintaine their owne wils and preiudicate resolutions. I doe grant, if

those materiall excreſcencies, doe in a moment vaniſh away, without any precedent preparation, or alteration tending thereto, or doe in an inſtant appeare, and in the ſame moment, without any mutation or proportion of time inſtantly vaniſh, then muſt this bee granted Supernaturall: *Quia nihil fit in momento*, that is, no naturall being hath deſinence or being, without proportioned time, beyond which nothing can bee really or indeed in ſublunarie nature, whether there bee in the vaniſhing of the former markes, proportion of time or no, and the due antecedent mutations, and alterations in nature requiſite, who can truly iudge, but hee who doeth both know the generall courſe of nature in all things, and alſo the particular courſe, in the nature of diſeaſes, which is the learned Phiſition alone. It may bee objected, that many common men in the former markes, may as eaſily ſee and diſcerne that which is Supernaturall oft-times, as the greateſt Clarkes.

For example, it hath beene publiſhed by Authors of great note, that Oracles haue beene vttered, and articulate ſounds heard diſtinctly iſſuing from the priue parts of a *Pythoniſſe*. Any man that doeth know, or heare ſuch ſounds out of that place, can as directly and as truly as the Phiſition auouch this to be Supernaturall.

It was ſometime openly objected, againſt a Witch in *Northampton ſhire* at the publike Aſſiſe, that a Rat was oft obſerued to reſort vnto her priue part, and with her liking and ſufferance there to ſucke. This was by oath and testimony vrged againſt her, and ſhe her ſelfe confeſſed it to bee true. If the oath and testimony of ſufficient witneſſes, confirme the Hiſtorie to bee true, there is no man vnto whom this is not apparent, as well as vnto the Phiſition to bee more then naturall. Hereto wee doe anſwere, that although it cannot bee denied, that many things may euidently declare themſelues vnto euery vulgar, as vnto the learned Phiſition to bee Supernaturall; yet doeth not this truth in ſome caſes, euince it true in all caſes. Be cauſe ſome things are not denied vnto a vulgar eye or iudgment,
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it doeth not thence follow necessarily, that all things are thereto eident.

It is further objected, that in those cases, Phisitions are oft found deceiued, as well as other men. It is answered, that among Phisitions, as among all sorts of other men, there are many vulgars, who are, and may bee ordinarily, and easily deceiued, yea amongst the iudicious and learned also, who cannot so ordinarily or easily bee deceiued, yet there must be some wants and imperfections, since no man in this mortall life can bee in all particuler points perfect. Notwithstanding, this doeth not excuse those who are vnlearned, and haue many more grosse wants and imperfections, for not consulting with those that haue lesse, since vnperfect perfection of knowledge, is farre better guide then imperfection, grosse ignorance, and priuation of Art and knowledge.

It may bee yet demanded, what if the Phisition or learned man, cannot detect the Diuell in these named markes, since the diuel is able to haue a finger haply in them, where no note or signe thereof shall at all appeare ?

Answer hereto is, where God doeth giue vnto men no meanes, no way or possibilitie vnto their desired satisfaction, there they ought to rest contented, since the contrary is precipitation, and impatience with God his good will and pleasure, and vnbridled curiositie. For as in other cases, namely, Fellony, Murder, all Lawe both Diuine and Humane, doeth forbid to accuse the Murderer, or Felon, where God hath not discovered his guilt by any signe, euidence, or prooffe thereof; so in case of Witch-craft, where God hath not reuealed it by any reasonable proff, vnto the learned & iudicious, there hath no man warrant to accuse, or challenge vpon superstitious grounds, or surmises onely. And though this moderation be iust and fit to be held, where God hath inhibited the contrary; yet it is no Apologie or excuse for negligence, contempt, and want of diligent inquisition at any other time, whensoever God doeth permit or offer meanes, hope or possibilitie thereto.

There may here a question be pertinently mooued, namely, Whether these marks before mentioned, where proued supernaturall, doe therefore necessarily conuince the party vpon whom they are found, a Witch, yea or no.

Answer here to is, that simply and alone, such marks doe not prooue a Witch at all, but with some limitations and considerations, they doe absolutely and infallibly demonstrate a Witch.

Those limitations are these; First, that those marks certainly detected to be supernaturall, bee by circumstances, presumptions or necessary inference, of reason proued to be knowne, by the party in whom they are found, that they are of the Diuell, or by the Diuell there placed.

Secondly, that they are there continued, mainteined, or preserued with the liking and allowance of that partie. The reason of these limitations is manifest, for that the Diuell is able to impose diuers diseases, as also such like supernaturall marks or excrefcencies, as are before mentioned, vpon men without their liking or consent, where God doth so permit him. This is euident by the Historie of *Iob*, vpon whom the Diuell brought extraordinary, and more then vsuall botches, biles, and sores, beyond the common course and nature of those diseases, and this he did full sore against the will, and liking of righteous *Iob*. No man can iustly be accused or suspected in that act wherein hee is no agent, but an vnwilling Patient, nor can bee accessary vnto concurrence, or consent with any author in his act, if that author bee not knowne vnto him, or not conceiued by him to be author. Indeed, if any man be found with such marks, who may be conuincd to know them to bee of the Deuill, and then to like or to be contented with them, assuredly by manifest demonstration, that man is a Witch, if not by an expresse and open, yet by an occult allowance of the Diuels possession and power, of that part or portion in him. Whosoever giueth any possession of himselfe vnto the Diuell, either in part or in whole, doeth thereby renounce his Creator, & by this combination with the Diuell, is a Witch, or Sorcerer.

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There remaineth as yet a doubt or question, Whether simply the affirmation of a supposed Witch (which is vulgarly but not properly called and deemed her confession) that the Diuell doth sucke him or her, as also whether the affirmation of a supposed Witch, affirming her selfe to be a Witch, doe infallibly conuince that supposed Witch, to be a Witch indeede; and whether that affirmation be sufficient (as commonly deemed her owne confession) to condemne her.

The answer is negative. The reason is, for that many affirmations in themselves, and at first view doe seeme true serious and sufficient; which better and more considerately examined, are oft-times euen senselesse and ridiculous; and therefore iustly are denied credit.

And for this cause no accusations, whether against any man himselfe, or against another, wherein is no probability or likelihood, no colour or possibilitie of being; either are or ought to be admitted or heard in iustice in any Courts of Iustice. And for this cause the testimonies, accusations, or confessions which by fooles, or madmen are auouched, are by all nations through the world in law not valued, and reiected. The same regard is had of the affirmations and testimonies of children and of melancholy people, and likewise of men with yeeres and age doting, or by diseases or cares manifestly decrepite in their wittes and senses. That such decrepits there are vsually walking among men not noted nor knowne vnto most, or many, except sometimes vpon especiall occasion or trial of them made, is no wonder.

I did my selfe know some lately liuing, who formerly haue bene very vnderstanding, yet diuers yeeres before their end, were with age in their inward senses so worne and wasted; that although as reasonable creatures vnto the common view, they talked, conuersed, conferred, spake many times, and in many things with very good reason, and sensibly; yet oft-times by sodaine enterchanges, they

neither knew reason nor themselves, nor their owne names nor children.

I now know a man neere an hundreth yeere old, who having in my late remembrance beene an excellent pen-man, doth neither now know a word, nor can write nor name so much as one letter among the foure and twentie; yet hath he his sight good, as by his discerning and vpon his view thereof, giuing right name and title vnto other as small formes and characters is apparent. His memory sometimes euen of the same things is altogether gone by fits; and by fits sometimes returneth in many things, but not in all, nor in any alway or certainly. Other some I haue knowne in their memory and phansie by age so worne, that they could not hold or retaine in the one so much as that which very lately was in their eye; in the other so much as that which was in the same instant almost conceived; affirming things in this confusion which neuer were nor euer could be; and denying their sight of those things which from their sight thereof they had truly before named of their owne accord; one while constantly beleeuing and avouching whatsoever was said or informed them, though neuer so dissonant from sense or reason; another while as confidently denying whatsoever truth was said or vrged, though neuer so manifest vnto their sight or sense. This is not strange in age, since in diseases it is vsuall for men sometimes for a time to lose their memory alone, sometimes their reason alone, sometimes imagination: sometimes part of one; and part of another; sometimes all; sometimes perfectly none; and yet imperfect in euery one. It sometimes also is seene (as *Galen* saith) that a man inioying absolutely and accurately all his inward senses of right reason, memory and imagination in all other things beside; yet in some one particular alone and in no other whatsoever is euer constantly and without change void of sense or reason, and as a very mad man or foole.

Thus much is also writren by others of many wise and learned

learned men ; who notwithstanding in some one particular alone haue discovered them selues to be very fooles or mad men : constantly affirming themselves to be doggs, horses, glasses, and for that one follie neuer reclaimed, in all other things being iudicious, learned, discrete and solid. Neither is every vulgar man, nor every man vulgarly learned not accurately iudging able to discern these defects, at first, or alwaies; much lesse where they are hardly and difficultly espied, or by fits onely doe shew themselves. How possible is it for these sorts of people either to be perswaded by others, or from their owne guide and vnstable conceits to affirme any thing whatsoeuer concerning themselves or others? and for that cause how necessary is it in matter of weight and iudgments, especially of life, to take heede of their rash admittance vnto accusations or testimonies concerning themselves or any others. Vnto a confession so properly and truly called, doe necessarily concur three things. First, in a confession is properly implied & vnderstood the partie confessing to be capable of reason, because without reason he can neither know nor iudge of himselfe nor of his guilt. Secondly, in a confession is requisite and necessary that a partie confessing himselfe doth truly know what the Law doth take & define that offence to be which he doth assume vnto himselfe. For by ignorance of the law sometimes silly men suppose themselves and others to haue incurred the danger of the Law, where he that truly vnderstandeth the Law is able to informe him the contrary: and for this cause the law it selfe doth giue leaue to consult with the Lawyer, and with such as professe and are skilfull in the Law.

Diuines likewise generally acknowledge and grant, that there is a mistaking, an ignorantly and a falsely accusing conscience or guilt, as well as a conscience iustly iudging and accusing.

And for this cause many a man may take himselfe to be a Theefe, a Witch or other offender, who doth not truly or rightly know what Theft in his owne case or some other points

points is, or what Witch-craft or some other offences either truly in themselves are, or by the Law are understood, bring in some cases not known or agreed, among Lawyers themselves. It is therefore senselesse that a man can accuse himselfe iustly of an offence which he doth not know; and therefore also is it as vniust to admit such an accusation against himselfe.

Thirdly, in a confession is implied and presupposed a precedent manifest offence or guilt either by faire evidence likely to be prooued, or at least by due circumstances and presumptions iustly suspected or questioned.

I doe hence conclude demonstratiuely, that if a supposed Witch be not first found capable of reason, and free from dotage with age or yeeres or sicknesse; and doe not also know what Witch-craft or a Witch is, and thirdly if the Witch-craft or sinne it selfe bee not vpon sufficient grounds either prooued, or at least questioned; the meere accusation of such a supposed Witch against her selfe without the former considerations, is not simply or alone sufficient to conuince or condemne her; neither is such an accusation, truly or properly to be rearmed a confession. And thus we haue made euident by this instance of the supposed Witches markes, how the learned Physition possesing true Art and learning, is not so commonly as the vulgar sort transported into the maze of vaine wonder and ignorant admiration, but duely and truly weighing reason doth apart distinguish and put true difference betweene the wonders in nature, and the wonders about nature.

The wonders in nature are such diseases, as in their strange shape and likeness, doe counterfeit such maladies, as are induced by the Diuell or by Witch-craft. Wonders about nature, are such diseases, wherein the finger of the Diuell is indeede and really discovered.

Concerning the first kinde (as here) so formerly in a former Manuell, I haue briefly deliuered, both some of their generall * descriptions, denied by no man that in ancient time was, or at this time is a iudicious and learned

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* Page.
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Physician, as also diuers of their * particular Histories * Page
in the persons of some sicke men knowne vnto my selfe. 61

Of the second it is here needlesse to propound any more 62
particulars then those aboue mentioned, which I esteeme 63
for the generall illustration sufficient. In true and right de- 64
cision and distinction of the one from the other, multipli-
citic of consideration and circumspection ought diligently
attend the intricate maze and labyrinth of error, and il-
lusion in their deceiueable likenesses, whereby the Diuell,
for his owne aduantage, and the perdition of seduced and
beguiled men, doth sometimes cunningly hide his owne
workes, and the diuellish practises of Witches and Sor-
cerers, from their due detection and punishment; some-
times to insnare the guiltlesse and innocent, doth iuggling-
ly seeme to doe those things which Nature doth iustly
challenge, not as his, but as her owne, in iust ballance
weighed. It is most certaine, that the Diuell cannot possi-
bly mixe himselfe, or his power, with any inferiour nature,
substance or body, but the alteration, by the coniunction
of so farre discrepant natures, in the vnchangeable decree
of the vniuersall nature of all things, necessarily and vn-
auoidably produced, must needs witnesse and manifestly
detect it in the great and mighty oddes. This is very eu-
ident and apparent in all the supernaturall workes of the
Diuell, before mentioned in the generall discourse of this
small Treatise or worke, whether such as were declared
manifest to sense, or such as were euident to reason; whe-
ther such as were effected by the Diuell himselfe, with the
consent or contract of a Sorcerer or Witch, or such as were
without their knowledge, societie, or contract performed
by himselfe. All those supernaturall workes of both these
kinds were therefore knowne to be supernaturall, because
they were aboue and beyond any cause in sublunary na-
ture. The like the learned Physician may certainly con-
clude, concerning diseases inflicted or mooued by the Di-
uell. For it is impossible that the finger or power of the
Diuell should be in any maladie, but such a cause must
needs

needs produce some effect like it selfe, where true and iudicious discerning is able to finde the infallible, certaine, and vndeceined stampe of difference. Thus farre hath bin briefly declared, how the Physician properly and by himselfe doth alone enter into the due consideration and examination of diseases (where is iust occasion of question) whether naturally or supernaturally inferred. How vsfit it is here to admit euery idiot for a Physician or Counsellor (as is too common both in these and all other affaires of health) let wise men iudge.

Certainely from hence it commeth to passe, that most men for euer liue in perpetuall confusion of their thoughts in these cases, and as a iust iudgement of God against their carelesse search and neglect of learned and warranted true counsel, all certainty and truth herein doth still fly farre from them. For as in these ambiguities is requisite and necessary, a learned, iudicious, and prudent Physician; so is it as necessary that he finde those that neede herein aduice, truely and constantly obedient vnto good reason, temperate and discrete, not mutable vpon euery vaine and idle proiect to start away, and to bee transported from a reasonable, iust & discrete proceeding, vnto vncertaine, vaine, and Empiricall tryals, since wisdom, knowledge and truth are neuer truely found, but onely of those, that with diligence, patience, and perseuerance search and seeke them out. It remaineth now to come vnto the second way of detection of the bewitched sicke, which was before said to consist in such things as were subiect and manifest vnto a vulgar view, as the first vnto the learned Physician alone. As of the first, some few examples haue been propounded, so of the latter let vs also viewe other some.

In the time of their puxoxismes or fits some diseased persons haue beene seene to vomit crooked iron, coales, brimstone, nailes, needles, pinnes, lumps of lead, waxe, hayre, strawe, and the like; in such quantity, figure, fashion and proportion, as could neuer possibly passe downe, or arise vp thorow the naturall narrownesse of the throat, or be contained

contained in the vnproportionable small capacity, naturall suscepribility and position of the stomake. These things at any time happening, are palpable and not obscure to any eye without difficulty, offering themselves to plaine and open viewe.

These like accidents *Benignus, Wierus, Codronchius* and others also, euen in in our time and countrey, haue published to haue been scene by themselves. Some other sicke persons haue, in the time of the exacerbations of their fits, spoken languages knowingly and vnderstandingly, which in former time they did neuer knowe, nor could afterward know againe: as *Fernelius* a learned Physicion, and beyond exception worthy credit, doth witness concerning a Sicke man knowne to himselfe.

Some Sicke men also haue revealed and declared words, gestures, actions done in farre distant places, euen in the very time and moment of their acting, doing, and vttering, as I haue knowne my selfe in some, and as is testified likewise to haue beene heard, knowne, and scene by diuers witnesses worthy credit in our * country, in diuers bewitched Sicke people.

* See a Treatise of the Witches of Warbozyes.

As these examples are manifest to any beholder, which shall at any time happen to view them: so are the examples of the first and second kinde euident to the reason and iudgement of the learned and iudicious Physicion, and all doe therefore certainly detect and prooue a supernaturall Author, cause, or vertue, because they are manifest supernaturall effects.

Thus haue we pointed out briefly, the detection of the bewitched Sicke, both by learned Reason proper vnto the iudicious Physicion, and also by common sense and reason in all men.

If men more at large please to exercise themselves in due consideration and prooffe hereof, they shall finde more certaine and sound satisfaction and fruit, with the blessing and allowance of God, then can issue out of the mouthes of Sorcerers and Witches, which God hath cursed, and dis-

allowed, and in whose hearts and monthes, the Diuell is oft a lying Spirit.

It hath been briefly, and yet sufficiently herein proued, that Almighty God hath giuen vnto Reason light, whereby reasonable, temperate and sober minds, through circumspect care and diligence, may see and behold whatsoever is truly possible, or iust for man to know, with the fauour and allowance of Gods grace, in the detection and discouery of the bewitched Sicke. Whosoeuer therefore shall contemne, or neglect this light, and shall aske counsell of Diuels and Witches, the open and proclaimed enemies of God, doe certainly relinquish their faith, and trust in God their Creator, and their patience and dependance vpon his providence.

And although it may sometimes fall out, that prosperous issue doth seeme to follow the counsell of the Diuell, yet doth it behooue men to be wary, and not presume, lest it prooue onely a sweete baite, that by a sensible good, the diuell may draw their bewitched desirous vaine minds vnto an insensible damnable hurt. For certainly, he who will rather be beholding vnto the Diuell, for his life or health, then chuse to die in the gracious and mercifull hand of God his Creator, can neuer expect to participate any portion of saluation in him, without extraordinary repentance.

Thus much concerning the reasonable discouery of the bewitched Sicke, wherein leauing to enquire at Witches, Sorcerers, or impostors, vpright men, that loue or feare God, or imbrace Religion or common reason, may and ought consue and satisfie their iust desires.

C H A P. X I.

The production of the works of Witches and Sorcerers, vnto the publique seate and censure of Iustice.

WE haue hitherto considered, how the workes of Diuels and Witches, may be both manifest to Sense, and euident to Reason. They haue in their diuers kinds and different performances and manners distinctly beene instanced. Besides those kinds which haue beene mentioned, there may bee innumerable more, among which are those who vndertake and are enquired at, to reueale treasures hid, goods lost or conueighed away, the workes and guilt of other Witches, good fortunes, and euill fortunes in diuers affaires, disseignes and attempts: as also those who vndertake by inchantment, to leade captiue the wils and minds of men, vnto extraordinarie and vnreasonable desires or lusts, hatred or loue vnto, or against this or that person, or this or that particular thing, aboue or beyond the naturall power of resistance, and the force and vsuall guidance of naturall reason, in the ordinary course of mans will and nature: but they are all included in the same generall kinde, and common prooue of their diuellish impietie, deriued from the word of God before alleadged vnanswerably, and the true consequence of Reason from thence.

The difference that is in their diuers kinds, doth onely arise from their seuerall subiects, manners, ceremonies, and rites, according to their seuerall differing contracts with the Diuell: some vsing in their workes, reuelations or oraculous answers, of the demand of resorting people in one manner, fashion, ceremonie, gesture, and rite; some in another, and some in none at all, certaine, or vnchangeable.

Concerning these ceremonies, with their seuerall contracts,

tracts, and the manners thereof, I will not write, partly, because in this place not much materiall; partly, because they are difficult to detect, except by the Witches owne free confession, which happeneth very rare and seldome; partly, because they tend more to the satisfaction of curiositie then of vse, and therefore are not without some danger published. It hath now beene manifest by the word and mouth of God, vnto the reason of man, how a Witch or Sorcerer may euidently appeare vnto right Reason; namely by his voluntary vndertaking to bee enquired at, for knowledge and reuelation of such things as are hidden by God from all knowledge of men, and are solely and properly in the knowledge of Spirits, as hath beene by learned Authors and by reason declared.

The reuelation being found supernaturall, doth discover the supernaturall Agent or Author the Diuell, whose proper act whatsoeuer man doeth vnderake in part, or in whole, must necessarily buy or borrow from him, and thereby be conuincd vndoubtedly of contract with him.

We haue produced diuers sorts of noted Practisers likewise of this inhibited contract, both in the holy Scripture expressly nominated, and also by their ordinarie common custome herein obserued in seuerall kindes.

Concerning them all, we will conclude as a corallary vnto all that went before, with the testimonie and confirmation of *Lucius Apuleius*, that famous, expert, & learned Magician, in his booke *de Aureo Asino*, from his long prooffe and acquaintance with the Diuell: *Damones* (saith hee) *president Auguriis, Aruspiciis, oraculis, Magorum miraculis*, that is, the Diuels are chiefe presidents, haue chiefe power or authoritie, are chiefe Maisters, Guides, or Rulers ouer Diuination, or reuelation by the signes taken in flying of fowles, of diuination by inspection of the entralls of beasts, of Oracles, and of all the miracles or miraculous workes of Magicians. They that will not beleue the holy Scripture, nor the testimony of so many men and ages,
that

that the Diuell is the sole Author of vaine miraculous reuelations, diuinations and workes, let them credit the Magician his owne mouth.

As we haue hitherto viewed, how Witch-craft and Witches may bee, first, by sense manifestly detected: secondly, by reason evidently conuicted: so let vs now consider, how they may bee both produced vnto the barre of Iustice, and bee arraigned and condemned of manifest high Treason against Almighty God, and of combination with his open and professed enemy the Diuell.

Concerning the first, since it chiefly consisteth in that which is manifest vnto the outward sense, if the witnesses of the manifest magicall and supernaturall act, be substantiall, sufficient, able to iudge, free from exception of malice, partialitie, distraction, folly; and if by conference & counsell with learned men, religiously and industriously exercised, in iudging in those affaires, there bee iustly deemed no deception of sense, mistaking of reason or imagination, I see no true cause, why it should deserue an * *Ignoramus*, or not bee reputed a true Bill, worthy to bee inquired, as a case fit and mature for the same due triall, which Iustice, Law, and equitie haue ordained in common vnto all other rightfull hearings and proceedings by witnesse and testimonie, although it is likely to prooue a rare plea or cause, because in reason not too frequently to bee found, and farre lesse * in it selfe common or vsuall, then is vulgarly reputed. It might notwithstanding, haply bee more oft detected, if more diligently according to reason inquired.

The second kinde of Witch by euidence of reason discovered, is farre more frequent then the first, as appeareth by the varietie and multitude of names, which it hath branded vpon it, and the diuersitie of kindes and fashions which it hath put on. It is likewise more easily detected and prooued.

A supernaturall reuelation being first made truely manifest (lest preposterously wee haply call a surmised, or falsely suspected offender into question, before any offence

* *Crimina Meleficorum sunt communis fori, Pertinent ad forum Ecclesiasticum quatenus sunt Hæretici pertinent ad forum seculare quatenus cædes perperant in hominibus aut aliis animalibus, Binsfeldius præled 13.*

* *Quidam plus æquo tribuunt operationi Dæmonum, Binsfeldius.*

be.

be apparent or knowne; which is an vniust iniury, and worthy of rebuke and shame with God and iust men) a supernaturall reuelation (I say) being manifest, any mans guilty contract therein is prooued, by his vndertaking to bee enquired at therein.

That vndertaking likewise is easily knowne & discovered by those that haue inquired. The foundation of this way of inuestigation of this Witch or Sorcerer, is the Word of God it selfe before recited, and iust and true reason built thereupon, cannot fall or be shaken.

Thus hauing brought these prisoners to the Barre, I there arrest any farther progresse, and leaue them to Iustice, to the decree and sentence of the reuerend, graue, and learned Iudge, and so proceede the third promised way of inuestigation, and inquisition of Witches and Sorcerers, according to likely presumption, probable and artificiall coniecture.

But before wee arriue vpon that point, it is necessarie, that first a materiall obiection bee satisfied. That is, in the forementioned Iudgement of supernaturall workes of Sorcery manifest to sense, how can any true testimony or witness be required or expected, since doubt is made whether really or truly, or delusorily and in seeming onely, many or most things of that kinde, are seene or heard? Hereto is answered: As a true substance is seene not of it selfe simply, but in and by the outward true signe, shape, proportion, colours, and dimension inherent therein, and inseparable there-from; so the true likenesse, resemblance and pourtraiture of that substance, when separated from that substance, is as truly and as really seene. Therefore, experience doeth shew vs, that the same eye which saw the shape, proportion, and figure, together with the true substance, doeth as perfectly both see and know it, when it is separated from the substance by the Art of the Painter.

As in the true miracles of God, wrought by the hand of his seruant *Moses*, the true and vndoubted substance of a truly created Serpent, was seene when it was changed from

from a rodde, by the outward proper and inherent shape: so as truely was an outward pourtraiture and likenesse of Serpents scene, in the false miracle of the seeming transmutation of the Sorcerers rodde. For how could Religion or reason condemne those miracles of the Diuell for illusions, if the lively resemblance of miracles appearing manifestly vnto the eye, had not thereby made them knowne? For an example, or illustration, how is a juggling deceit knowne but by the eye? The sight is said to bee deceived therein. Therefore it doeth see that which doeth deceive. Reason likewise comparing that which was scene, with that which is not scene; that is, the counterfeit with the true substance, doeth prouue the counterfeit the present object of the sight. The same eyes therefore that saw, in the true miracles of *Moses*, the substance of a Serpent by the true inseparable inherent shape, saw likewise the true image and picture of a Serpent, in the false and seeming miracles of the Enchanters of Egypt. The testimony of the presentation of both vnto the eye, is as true as truth it selfe; because the Word of truth hath said it. That the Diuell is as powerfull as the most excellent Painter, to represent any the most true and lively likenesse of any creature, is in reason cleare, and hath bene also before proued.

Therefore a true testimonie may bee truely given, and iustly accepted or taken of a lively shape, figure, likenesse, or proportion, really presented (by the Art of the Diuell) vnto the eye. All the doubt then remaining, is, to put a true difference betweene that which our imagination doeth represent vnto vs, from within the braine, and that which wee see without by the outward sense. This difference will best appeare by an example. *Fernelius* in his first booke, cap. xi. de *Abil. her. caus.* doeth make mention of a man, who by the force of charmes, would coniure into a looking glasse certaine shapes or visions, which there would either by writing, or by lively presentations so perfectly expresse and satisfie, whatsoever hee did demand or command

vnto them, that easily and readily it might be distinguished, and knowne by standers by. This *Fernelius* doeth report that hee saw himselfe. What shall wee say herein? Was this Diuelish practise a thing doubtfull? Was it not manifest to many eyes, diuersitie of beholders, and the iudicious view of a learned and discerning sight. The like *Franciscus Picus Mirandula* reporteth, *videlicet*, that a famous Magician of *Italy* in his time, did keepe the skull of a dead man out of which the Diuell did deliver answeres vnto men enquiring, when the Wizard had first vttered certaine words, and had turned the skull toward the Sunne. These things being palpably seene, could not bee meere imagination. Those things which are meeresly in imagination (with those men whom diseases deprive not of their sense or reason) are by right reason and true sense, after a short time of their preuallence, easily detected to be imaginary; but those things which are truely, really, and certainly seene, remaine the same for euer after in their due reception of sense; with vndoubted and vnnchanged allowance of reason.

Hence it is, that a man in a sleepe or dreame, though for a short space, hee doeth oft times verily, really, and very feelingly (as it were) thinke himselfe in many actions and employments; yet when hee awaked from sleepe, his sense and reason doe tell him hee was but in a dreame. Many sicke persons likewise vsually, though waking, dreame of things falsely imagined, but the disease being gone, and their sense and reason there-from recovered, they then know and laugh at the fallacies of their imaginations. By these short instances it is apparent, that it is not a thing impossible, but vsuall and familiar vnto all kinde of men that want not their common wits, to distinguish betweene those things which are onely in imagination, and those which are reall and indeede.

From hence we may then truely conclude, that against the acts of Sorcerie and Witch-craft manifest to sense, the due testimonies of vnderstanding, discrete, and iust men, ought

ought to bee no lesse equiualent then against another open acts, or crime whatsoeuer, whereof the Witch of *Endor* may serue to shut vp and conclude all doubt for euer herein, for an vnanswerable instance and prooffe. Shee acknowledgeth her guilt and crime might bee made manifest vnto *Saul* in these wordes, 1. *Sam.* 28. 9. Wherefore seekest thou to take mee in a snare, to cause mee to die? *Saul* likewise himselfe doeth grant vnto her, the sufficiency of his testimony to cause her to die, *verse* 9. in these wordes, As the Lord liueth, no harme shall come vnto thee, for this thing: meaning, by his testimony of her fact, no harme should come vnto her. But here may bee objected, that it was not his testimony of her fact of raising the vision of *Saul*, which the Witch did feare, but his testimony of her confession of her selfe to be a Witch, by promising to vndertake it. The contrary is manifest by the Text, *verse* 21. See, thy handmaide hath obeyed thy voyce, and I haue put my soule in thy hand, and haue obeyed the word which thou saidst vnto me. And thus is the doubt concerning the sufficiency of testimonies, and witnesse in case of Witch-craft satisfied. It now remaineth as was promised and intended, that we next view that light vnto the discovery of Witch-craft, which artificiall coniecture, probable reason and likely presumption doe afford, since what sense and reason haue made manifest is already declared.

CHAP. XII.

That Witches and Witch-craft may be discovered by probable reason and presumption.

AS from things euident to sense, and manifest to reason, there issueth a certainty of vndoubted knowledge: so in things that carry onely probabilitie, diligence doth beget and produce verity and * truth of opinion. Hence it commeth to passe, that he who truely knoweth, and knowingly can distinguish and discern the validitie,

* *Opinio vera est habitus circa conclusiones ex Dialecticis pronunciatis, Arist. in lib. Analyt.*

nature, difference, and right vse of probabilities, doth most
 seldom in his opinions mistake or erre.

Hence also it cometh to passe, that according to seuerall measures, and degrees of diligence, study, practice, and exercise of iudging in probabilities, men doe diuersly differ, some, excellling other in the merited stiles and attributes of subtiltie; Policy; Sagacity; Exquisiteenes. It is true, that in probability, is no perpetuall * certainty: notwithstanding he, that warily and wisely weigheth it, cannot in the vncertainty thereof but finde more certainty, then in blinde and vnlkely casualtie; then in rash attempts and prosecutions, void of counsell, or likely reason.

For although sometimes those things which seeme most likely and probable, doe happen to prooue false, yet doth nature and reason teach and inioyne vs rather to giue credit thereto; and experience doth manifest that the cause of deception therein, for the most part, doth consist in the weakenesse of mans iudging thereof aright. For in iudging of probabilities, are great oddes, some things onely seeme probable to such as are * wise, learned, expert, subtilt: some vnto the most exquisite Iudges alone: some to euery vulgar; some to the choise and best sort of Vulgars, and not vnto all; and in these differences, doth necessarily breede much error and mistaking. Notwithstanding, the vertue and force of probability it selfe, simply doth not deceiue, or vsually faile, but as it is diuersly and differently conceiued by men, that oft prooueth false, which seemed likely. *Vatem hunc perhibemus optimum*, saith Cicero, *qui bene coniecit*, that is, we auoush and affirme that man to be the best Prophet, or prognosticator of issues to come or happen, who hath the power and skill of right and true conieecture, which euer consisteth in the exquisite perpenzion of probable inducements.

What is among men more admired, or more worthy to be admired, then this art, this skill, this power? Who doth not know what vse, also what benefit doth arise thereby, both vnto the true warrant and allowance of action, and al-

* Certum est,
 quod nun-
 quam aliter
 fiat, probabile,
 quod plerum-
 que ita fiat,
 Cicero.

* Probabilia
 sunt, quæ pro-
 bantur aut
 omnibus, aut
 plurimis, aut
 certe sapienti-
 bus, & iis si
 non plurimis,
 at maxime
 probatis, quo-
 rum est spe-
 cta Sapien-
 tia, Aristot.

so vnto the maintenance, and iustification of right opinion, in counsels and deliberation? As in all other faculties and sciences, the excellencie and necessitie thereof doth brightly shine: so most apertly vnto common obseruation, it doth prooue and manifest it selfe in the two seuerall professions of the *Logician* and the *Orator*.

The *Logician* in his discrepations and questions, concerning doubts and ambiguities, by the diligence of subtile dispute, from the light of probabilitie, rectifieth the vnstable fluctuation of vnconstant opinion, and produceth through mature disquisition, and ratiocination, what is most safe, most consonant with truth, to hold, affirme, or be perswaded.

The *Orator* in his coniecturall state or questions, in his pleas of doubtfull and controuerfed facts, or rights, wherein oft-times probabilitie and likelihood, seeme to stand equall and vnpartiall vnto both parts: notwithstanding by mature, acute, and seasonable pressing, and vrging that which is most like, most reasonable, and consonant with right, with law and equitie, in the end doth bring into light, and discover, what is most equall, vpight, and worthy to be credited, or respected. What euictions of truth and right, what conuictions of guilt and errour doe dayly issue from hence, common experience, doth prooue and demonstrate.

Thus much briefly prefixed in generall, concerning the necessitie, light and truth of probabilities; it now remaineth to consider the vse and power thereof likewise, in our particular proposed subiect of Witch-craft, which common sense doth not onely iustifie (as in all other subiects) but the word of vndoubted truth.

Almightie God, in case of Idolatrie, doth not onely publish and proclaime his detestation of that great sinne it selfe, but therewith doth include whatsoeuer hath any probabilitie of respect, or reference thereto; whether in affection and inclination, or in ceremonie or superstitious shew. This is euident, *Deut. 18. verse 9.* where he first forbiddeth

biddeth his people so much as to imitate, or doe after the manners of the Gentiles; and afterward particulariseth their making their sonnes and daughters to passe thorow the fire. Likewise *Leuit. 19. 27, 28.* where he forbiddeth as much as the cutting of his peoples heads, or the corners of their heads round, or marring the tufts of their beards, or marking or cutting of their flesh, as was the manner of Infidels and Gentiles, in their mourning and lamenting of the dead. Likewise *Dent. 16. 21.* where he forbiddeth so much as the planting of any groues of trees neere his Altar, because it was the custome, inuention, manner, and resemblance of Idolaters.

As in case of Idolatrie, so in case of Witch-craft, which is likewise a kinde of Idolatry, because the worship of Diuels, Almighty God in those places of holy Writ, where he publisheth and proclaimeth his high displeasure against Witches and Sorcerers, with that abominable sinne it selfe, doth also condemne as abominable; First, in generall all kinde of shew, of affection, liking, inclination, or respect thereof; Secondly, any customes, fashions, rites, ceremonies, superstitions, or gestures from thence deriued, or belonging thereto.

The first is manifest, *Leuit. 19. verse 31.* There the Prophet, from their God *Iehouah*, doth charge his people, that they doe not so much as turne toward, or decline toward Sorcerers or South-sayers, vouchsafe to aske any question, or to respect them: and *Leuit. 20. verse 6.* he giueth iudgement and sentence of death, against that soule that doth but turne or looke toward them.

The second is likewise manifest, *Isaiah 8. verse 19.* where Almighty God noteth the superstitious peepings, whisperings, and mutterings of Sorcerers, and according to those gestures, doth with reproch terme them whisperers, mutterers and peepers: and *Dent. 18. verse 10, 11.* he rehearseth their mumblings, and charmings, and their superstitious marking the flying of fowles; and *Leuit. 19. verse 26.* he noteth their vaine and ceremonious obseruing of times.

If

If then Almighty God be so strict, that he will not endure or tolerate so much as a friendly looking toward Sorcerers: the least respect giuen vnto them, or so much as a demand of a question at their hands, any inclination toward them, any their ceremonies, rites or superstitions, yea, so small a matter as their very outward gestures; how can religious zeale, or the duty of man toward God his Creator, esteeme any of these, or the like, or the least of them, lesse then sufficient matter of probable doubt, presumption, religious ieaousie, and suspicion against such men, as doe, or dare presume to imitate, to practise or vse them?

As the holy Scripture hath pointed out some few gestures, manners, and rites of Sorcerers, for an example and light vnto all other of the same kinde: so hath the daily obseruations of succeeding times added infinite more, which haue, doe, and still may encrease, multiply, and be added, and newly inuented, and put on new different shapes and fashions, according to the fancie of the contractors therein, which are the Diuell, and man possessed by him, in whose powers and will, according to the nature, qualitie and conditions of their contract, dependeth and consisteth the variation, or innouation of ceremonious rites.

For this cause, among Authors and records both of elder and later times, wee reade of such diuersities and numbers of superstitious litations, dedications, performances, and a diabolicall solemnities. As therefore we haue manifested such superstitious rites, ceremonies and gestures of Sorcerers, as the holy Scripture hath noted and deciphered; so let vs propound some other by after-times, and other Authors obserued.

Some haue vsed in their intention or execution of their Diabolicall workes, or in the way of prelusion one kinde of *ceremonious homage, and some another. Some doe neuer attempt nor enterprise a Diabolical execution, but with mumblings, whisperings, and secret sounds, and words heard.

* See Master Perkins discovery of Witch-craft, chap. 2. pag. 48.

heard grumbling in their mouthes: as *Theophrastus* in his 9. booke of herbes and plants doth witnesse, concerning certaine Magicians in gathering *Helleborus*, and *Mandragora*: and as is likewise vndoubtedly discouered, by the great attributes that are by many famous Writers ascribed vnto the Caball of the Iewes, and vnto letters, characters, words, sillables and sentences superstitiously pronounced.

Galen writeth, that a certaine Sorcerer by vttering and muttering but one word, immediately killed, or caused to dye a Serpent or Scorpion. *Beniuinius* in his booke *de Abd. morb. caus.* affirmeth, That some kinde of people haue bene obserued to doe hurt and to surprise others, by vsing only certaine sacred and holy words. It is apparent likewise, that others haue accomplished their diuelish ends, by apparitions, shapcs, or figures, raised or coniured into glasses; as *Fernelius*, an eye-witnesse, in his booke *de Abdit. rer. caus.* doth publish. Some receiue power and vertue from the Diuell vnto their Diabolicall preparations, by certaine enchanted hearbes, or medicines which they mixe and gather, sometimes with braske hookes, sometimes by Moone-stine in the night, sometimes with their feete bare and naked, and their bodies clothed with white shirts, as *Plinie* reporteth. Some are reported, to obtaine of the Diuell their desired ends or workes, by deliuering vnto the Diuell bonds or couenants, written with their owne hands. This *Serres* the French Chronicler doth report, confessed by certaine Witches, in the raigne of *Henry* the fourth. And *M^r. Fox*, in the life of *Martin Luther*, doth make mention of a yong man, who deliuered a bond vnto the Diuell, vpon certaine conditions, which bond was written with the yong mans owne blood, and vpon his repentance, and the earnest zealous prayer of the people vnto God in his behalfe, was redeliuered, and cast into the Church in the view and sight of the whole assembly there and then being. Some deriue an effectuall vertue vnto their decreed Diuelish workes, by hanging characters or papers about the necke, as *Plinie* reporteth. Some practise to bring their Diuelish

Diuelish ends vnto issue, by coniured images and pictures of waxe, golde, earth, or other matter, as *Thomas Aquinas* in his booke *de occultis Natura* witnesseth.

Holingshed, page 534. doth chronicle the execution of certaine Traitors, for conspiring the king of Englands death by Sorcerous and Magicall pictures of waxe. The same author, page 1271. doth report, that in the twentieth yeere of Queene *ELIZABETH*, a figure-finger (as hee termeth him) being suspected as a Coniurer or Witch, sudainely dying, there was found about him (besides bookes of coniuration, and other Sorcerous papers or Characters) the picture of a man wrought out of Tynne. Some late writers haue obserued, that diuers Witches by such pictures, haue caused the persons thereby represented secretly to languish and consume, as was lately proued against some late famous Witches of *Yorke-shire* and *Lancaster*, by the testimonies beyond exception of witnesses, not onely present, but presidents in their tryall and arraignment. Some execute their hellish intentions by infernall compositions, drawne out of the bowels of dead and murdered Infants; as *Ioannes Baptist Porta* in his booke *de Magia naturali*, doth from his owne knowledge affirme, and thereto the *Malleus Maleficarum* with others doe assent.

Some practise also Sorcery by tying knots, as *Sant Ierome* testifieth in *vita Hilarij*, concerning a priest of *Aesculapius* at *Memphis*. Some practise Witch-craft by touching with the hand or finger onely, as *Biniuenius* saith. Some in their Sorcerous acts or coniurations, vse parchement made of the skinne of Infants, or children borne before their time: as *Serres* reporteth from the confession of Witches, in the time and raigne of *Henry* the fourth detected. Some for the promoting of their Diuelish deuices, vse the ministry of

Perkins discourse of
Witch-craft,
chap. 3. page.
48.

liuing creatures, or of Diuels and spirits in their *likenesse as histories report, and *Theocritus* in his *Pharmacentria*; seemeth to credit, inducing there a Sorceresse, who by the power of her bird, did drawe and force her Louer to come vnto her.

This seemeth not impossible vnto a Witch, by the multitude of liuing shapes, which the Diuell in former ages hath vsually assumed, termed *Faunes, Satyres, Nymphes*, and the like, familiarly conuersing with men. Some bring their cursed Sorcery vnto their wished end, by sacrificing vnto the Diuell some liuing creatures, as *Serres* likewise witnesseth, from the confession of Witches in *Henry* the fourth of *France* deprehended; among whom, one confessed to haue offered vnto his Diuell or Spirit a Beetle.

This seemeth not improbable, by the Diabolicall litations and bloody sacrifices, not onely of other creatures, but euen of men, wherewith in ancient time the heathen pleased their gods, which were no other then Diuels. And rather then the Diuell will altogether want worship, he is sometimes contented to accept the parings of nailes; as *Serres* from the confession of certaine French Witches doth report. Some Authors write, that some sorts of Sorcerers are obserued to fasten vpon men their Magicall mischieuous effects, and workes, by conueying or deliuering vnto the persons, whom they meane to assault, meats, or drinckes, or other such like; as is euident by the generall knowne power of the Magicke cups of the inchaunted Filtra or loue draughts: and as seemeth iustified by *S. Augustine*, in his 18. booke *de Ciuitate Dei*, making mention of a woman whobewitched others, by deliuering only a piece of cheese. Some of our late Countrie-men haue obserued, some Witches to mischiefe or surprise such as they intend maliciously to destroy, by obtaining some part or parcell of their garments, or any excrements belonging vnto them, as their hayre, or the like.

It is not to be doubted that the Diuell, that old *Proteus*, is able to change and metamorphise his rites, ceremonies, and superstitions, into what new shapes or formes are best futable to his pleasure and his fellow-contractors most commodious vses and purposes. Concerning all the former mentioned, although it be exceeding difficult; nay; an impossible thing for any man to auouch euery of them
true

true in his owne knowledge or experience; yet for that some kindes of them wee may assuredly know and beleue from God himselfe, who hath in his sacred word nominated both * apparitions of the Diuel, as also, incantations, * *Isaiah 8.19.* charms, * spels and familiarity with Spirits; as also for * *Sam. 1.28.* that reason doth demonstrate, that there may be many more kinds, besides those named of the same likenesse, nature abused, and diuelish vse; and for that vnto othersome, the credit, worth and merit of those Writers by whom they haue been obserued and published, doth giue weight and estimation, it may be approoued as an infallible conclusion, that wheresoeuer any of them or the like, being diligently enquired after, are either really found, or in appearance or shew resembling, that there (with the concurrence of circumstances, and approoued precedence of a manifest worke of Sorcery consenting) that there, I say, it ought to be sufficient & vncontroled matter, or occasion of iust suspicion and presumption against the particular, in whom they are by iust witnesses free from exception, detected and palpably knowne, practised and exercised. As we haue now briefly recited and called to minde some sorts of such ceremonies, rites, superstitions, manners, instruments and gestures as are annexed vnto that kinde of Sorcery or Witch-craft which consisteth in action: So let vs also recite some other sorts of ceremonies, rites, and superstitions, which belong vnto that kinde of Sorcery which is conuerfant in diuinations, reuelations of things hidden, predictions, and prophecies. Diuinations according to nature or art, as *Cicero* distinguisheth in his first booke *de Diuinatione*, we doe not intend or purpose, but that diuination which the same Author in the same place doth refer into a power aboue man, which he there termeth the power of the gods, betweene whom and diuination, the *Stoicks* make this reciprocation, *Si sit Diuinitas, Diu sunt, si Diu sint est Diuinitas*; that is, if there be right diuination or prediction of thingsto come not contained in Art or Nature, certainly that diuination is of the gods, as reciprocally

where there are Gods, there is diuination. Here wee see plainly, not onely the antiquity, but the direct originall of diuinations, and that they do manifestly deriue themselves from Idol-gods, from Infidels, from Idolaters.

This is further euident likewise, by the generall current and report of all Histories, euen from the first beginning and foundation of *Rome* by *Romulus*, as through all ancient writings and writers, the frequent mention of *Augury*, *A-ruspicy*, *Extispicy*, and the like, doth plentifully witness. The holy Scripture also and Word of God doth testifie the same, *Deut. 18. verse 9, 10, 11.* where diuination by the flying of fowles, by the obseruation of times, and the like, are reckoned among the abominations of the Nations, or Gentiles.

The originall then of Diuinations issuing from Diuels (because from false gods, the gods of the heathen and Idolaters) let vs for the better noting of the abomination it selfe, obserue and point out some of their ceremonies, manners, and superstitions also.

Some in olde time vsed to diuine, as by the flying of fowles, so by viewing of lightning, by monsters, by lots, by inspection of the Starres, by dreames, *per monstra, & portenta, fulgura, sortes, In omnia, per Astra*, as *Cicero* testifieth at large in his bookes de *Diuinatione*. Some did vse to draw their Diuinations out of tubs, or vessels of water, wherein to were cast certaine thin plates of siluer and gold, and other precious Iewels, by which the Diuels (which Infidels ignorantly called their gods) were allured to answere vnto demands, doubts, and questions, as is by *Pselm* described, and was vsuall among the *Assyrian* coniectors. Some deriued their Diuinations from looking-glasses, wherein the Diuell satisfied vnto demands and questions, by figures and shapes there appearing.

This kinde of Diuination was called *κατοπίρομαντία* whereunto came very neere and was like *γαστρομαντία*. Some fetch their Diuinations by lots, taken from points, letters, characters, figures, words, syllables, sentences, which kinde of diuination

diuination is distinguished by the name of *κλαραμάντια*. If we should number v p euery particular kinde of shape, wherein Diuination doeth shrowde it selfe, it would prooue a long and tedious voyage, not onely through fire, water, ayre, earth, and other farre distant and diuided parts of the wide and spacious world, but through siues, riddles, the guts and bowels of the dead, and many other secret haunts & holes, wherein as the inuincible *Labyrinths* of intricate illusions, the Diuell doeth shadow and hide his subtil insidiation of silly deceived man.

He that desireth more curiously to reade other particulars herein, I referre him vnto S. *Augustine*, de *natura Daemonum*, and to *Camerarius*, de *Diuinationum generibus*. It is sufficient that the trueth and possibilitie of these kindes of Diuinations and the like, with their ceremonies, rites, customes, and superstitions; as also their detested originall, end, vse, and abomination, is esteemed diuellish by the Word of God, and his most sacred voyce, wherein vnder those kindes of Diuination, by the flying of fowles, obseruation of times, *Dent. 18. verse 10, 11.* and vaine gazing and beholding the Starres, *Isaiah 47. 19.* he displayeth and iudgeth the nature and qualitie of all other the like, couered by what stiles or names soeuer. The enumeration of any more sorts, might increase in number, and aduance curiositie, but can adde nothing in substance or materiall vse. The reason that the Diuell requireth these rites and ceremonies, S. *Augustine* doeth declare *lib. 21. cap. 6. de Cinit. Dei, Alliciuntur Dæmones* (saith he) *per varia genera lapidum, herbarum, lignorum, animalium, carminum, rituum, non ut animalia cibis sed ut spiritus signis, in quantum scilicet hæc eis adhibentur in signum diuini honoris cuius ipsi sunt cupidi.* That is, Diuels are drawne or Coniured, by diuers kindes of stones, hearbes, woodes, creatures, words, times, rites, or ceremonies, not as liuing creatures desire food, but as spirits reioyce or delight in signes, because those signes argue respect, worship, and honour, whereof they are very ambitious and desirous, as affecting Diuine worshippe in

malice of God himselfe and his Diuine worship. To the same purpose saith *Binsfeldius Comment. vel Explicat. in preluud. 9. Delectantur Damones signis cum imitari Deum studeant in Sacramentis suis.* That is, Diuels delight in signes, rites, and ceremonies, as desiring to imitate, or to be like God in his Sacraements.

Wee haue summarily (wherein for our information is sufficient competence) produced some few sorts of ceremonies, rites, and superstitious gestures in both kindes, that is, both such as belong to that kinde of Sorcery, which consisteth in act, and working, as also that which is exercised in Diuination, prediction, and reuelation.

The generall rule and reason is the same, and extendeth it selfe equally against both.

Let vs then in the conclusion thus conioyne them both together. What man is he among men so blind, who beholding in any man the former ceremonies, rites, preluisions, or gellures, being suspicious notes, markes, cognizances, and badges of Sorcerers and Witches, in either kinde, and doeth not thinke that he may with good reason doubt the ordinary correspondence of fruits, & workes answerable thereto? Vnto the former presumption, if circumstances of time, place, instruments and meanes, fitting such diuellish Actes, opportunitie, and the like doe adde their force, doeth not iust occasion of doubt increase? For illustration and example, let vs suppose a person of a curious and * inquisitiue disposition in things hidden or inhibited, a man voide of the feare and knowledge of God, a searcher after Sorcerers, and their diuellish Artes, educate among them by kindred, affinitie, or neighbour-hood, with them hauing generall opportunitie vnto inchoation into that Diabolicall mysterie, a man likely and prone to become a receptacle of Diuels, expressed by his long obserued, or knowne flying from, or hating all occasions or places, where the name, mention, worshippe, or adoration of Almighty God is in any kinde vsed; a man out of whose cursed lips hath at any time beene heard,
the

* Mast.
Perkins in his
discourse of
Witch-craft,
chap. 1. pag. 11.

the * renouncing of God, or voluntary profession of loue and friendship vnto the Diuel (all which with horror sometimes my owne eares did heare, in a * woman at an open asise, being there indited vpon suspicion of Witch-craft.)

Let vs yet further consider in the same man, an extraordinary alienation of himselfe, from all societie and company with men (for that familiar conuersation with Diuels, begetteth an hatred and detestation, both of the remembrance of God or sight of men) likewise a frequentation or solemne haunting of desarte* places, forsaken & vnaccustomed of men, the habitations of *Zym* and *Iym*, graues and sepulchres. This seemeth, *Math. 8. Luke 8. Marke 5.* in the possessed true.

The possessed and the Witch, are both the habitacles of Diuels; with this onely difference, that the Witch doth willingly entertaine him.

His custome of haunting tombes and sepulchres, in the one doth make it probable, and credible in the other. Likewise a solitary solacing himselfe, or accustoming abroad oft, and vsually alone, and vnaccompanied at times and houres vnusuall and vncouth to men, as the most darke seasons of the night, sitting the darke workes, and the workemen of the Prince of Darkenes.

Let vs yet more particularly obserue this man branded with the former note, seeming or professing to practise workes about the power and possibilitie of man, to threaten or promise to performe, beyond the custome of men, whether in generall, or toward any particular. In a diuellish intended action bent against any particular, likewise wee may diligently examine any manifest speciall prouocation, first given: secondly, an apparent apprehension thereof expressed by words, gestures, or deedes: thirdly intention, or expectation, succeeding the prouocation, starting out oft-times, or intimated by any rash, vnadvised, or sudaine proiect of headie and vnbridled passion: fourthly, the opportunitie suitable vnto such an intended desseigne, as time and place competent for accessse, speech, sight,

* Perkins chap. 2. pag. 48. discourse of Witch-craft.

* She was easie and ready to professe, that she renounced God and all his workes, but being required to say that shee renounced the Diuell & all his works, she did refuse it with this addition of the reason, (videlicet) for that the Diuell had never done her any hurt.

* Serres, from the confession of Witches detected and censured in the raigne of Henry 4. of France.

fight, or receiving from, or giuing vnto the particular, against whom such diuellish thoughts are set, any thing, wherein any enchanted power or vertue is vsually hid and conueighed.

After a Sorcerous deede is thus certainly obserued to proceede, we may then further with vigilant circumspection view, whether ought may be detected, iustly arguing his reioycing pride, or boasting therein, that standeth iustly suspected, or ought that may prooue or expresse his doubt, or feare of discouery, his guilty lookes, cunning euasions, shifting, lying, or contradictory answeres, and apologies vnto particulars vrged.

These circumstances and the like, though each alone and single may seeme of no moment or weight, yet concurring together, or aptly conferred, they oft produce a worth from whence doth issue full & complete satisfaction. *Verisimilia singula suo pondere mouent, coacternata multum proficiunt* (saith *Cicero*) that is, euery single circumstance hath his weight and vse, but consenting and concurring together, they doe much aduantage. Since then what vertue or power soeuer, circumstances and presumptions, doe vsually and generally vnfold in all other subiects or matters whatsoeuer, the same equally and as largely, reason doeth here display and offer in this of Witch-craft: why should not the like practise thereof herein also bee vrged and found, as likely and succesfull? I doe not commend or allow the vsuall rash, foolish and fantastick abuse of circumstances, nor their wresting and forging, nor the conuiration or raising vp of their likenesse, and shadowes, without any substance or truth (as is too common and vulgar) out of meere fancy or defect of true iudgement, without the due manifestation of a certaine crime first in this kinde assured.

But where all the former circumstances doe truly and really occurre, or most of them, or the most materiall amongst them with an apparant vncontrouled precedent euidence of an vndoubted act of Sorcery, and are not indirectly

directly wrested or guilefully extorted, but directly proued, & fairely produced and vrged; what man inioying his common sense or reason, can be ignorant, what a large scope and faire felde they doe yeeld to sent, to trace and chace the most hidden and secret guilt of Witches whatsoeuer, out of their vtmost shifting most close couerts and substill concealments?

I doe not affirme circumstances and presumptions, simply in themselves sufficient to prooue or condemne a Witch: but what reasonable man will or can doubt or deny, where first a manifest worke of Sorcery is with true iudgement discerned, and knowne certainly perpetrate: that the former circumstances and presumptions pointing vnto a particular, doe giue sufficient warrant, reason, and matter of calling that particular into question, & of inioying and vrging him vnto his purgation and iustification from those euill apparances, whereby through the differencies, iarres, contrarieties, and contradictions of the false faces and vizards of seeming truth (because identity and vnity is properly and solely found with truth it selfe inuolable and the same) guiltinesse is oft vnable to finde a couert to hid it selfe, but rubbed or galled vnto the quicke, doth breake out and issue forth in his owne perfect and yndeceiuing likeness. It may be objected, that it doth commonly fall out, and is so oft seene, that the hearts of Witches are by the Diuell so possessed, so hardned and sealed vp against all touch, either of any conscience, or the least sparke of the affections of men left in them, that there is no possibility, or hope of any preualence, by the pressing of any presumptions or circumstances, which they for the most part will answere with wilfull and peruerse silence.

This is and may be sometimes true, yet is no sufficient reason, why due prooffe and tryall should not alwayes diligently be made herein, since first experience it selfe doth witnesse a manifest benefite thereby: secondly, the like reasonable course and practice is knowne both vsuall, fruitfull and effectuall in all other disquisitions, and inquisitions whatsoeuer: and thirdly, the Diuell himselfe, the Witches

and Sorcerers great and graund Master, though of farre fewer words then Witches, (as seldome speaking at all) and abounding with farre more subtiltie and cunning; yet is he not able by all his art or cunning, alwayes to hide his owne workes, but by presumptions and circumstances, wise and vnderstanding hearts doe oft discerne and discouer them, as is by dayly experience seene and testified, and is confirmed by the prooffe which all holy and godly men haue euer had thereof. And to this purpose, and for this cause the holy Scripture doth require Gods chosen children, to sift and try the Spirits, whether they be of God or no; that is, whether they be of his holy spirit, or of the euill spirit which is the Diuell.

Although therefore God for his owne secret decree, or purpose, doe permit the Diuell sometimes to hide and shadow the guilt of his associates, Witches and Sorcerers, from the sight or deprehension of man, and thereby, sometimes, frustrate mans iust endeuour and duty of their discovery: yet doth he not totally or altogether herein subiect, or captivate, or abridge mans power or possibility of preuallence, euen against all the power and force of Diuels, as oft-times our dullest senses cannot choose but witnesse.

Could the Diuell, or their owne craft whatsoeuer, deliuer the Sorcerers from destruction out of the hands of *Saul*, who iustly destroyed them all out of the land of Israel, 1. *Sam.* 18. *verse* 9. or out of the hands of *Iosias*, who according to lawe, tooke away or abolished all that had familiar Spirits, and Southsayers. 2. *Kings chap.* 23. *verse* 24. The extirpation of these Southsayers, by those Princes, was commended of God, and by his Lawe commanded, *Leuit.* 20. 27. The same Lawe of God commaundeth, that no man be iudged or put to death, but by the mouth of two witnesses, from whence it is necessarily collected, that the workes of Sorcery are not alwayes hidden, but oft-times so open, that they may be manifestly noted; otherwise, how could they be testified, which vnto their condemnation the Lawe doth euer presuppose and necessarily commaund?

Neither

Neither is this Lawe of God any thing discrepant from the common equity of all lawes, or from reason it selfe : first, for that many workes of Sorcery doe immediately in their first view, manifest themselues to the sense, as is euident, by the miraculous workes of the Enchaunters of Egypt, practised in the sight of *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*. Secondly, for that many workes are apparent manifestly to Reason, in which, though the sense cannot immediately discern, or take notice of their quality and authour; yet by necessary inference and euidence of reason, they are certainly and demonstratiuely prooued to issue from the power and force of Spirits and Diuels, as hath beene formerly declared, concerning both workes and also diuinations, prophecies, and reuelations hidden from all curiosity and possibility of man. Thirdly, for that circumstances and presumptions doe with good and likely reason call into question, and iustly charge with suspicion (as hath beene instanced) concerning the performers and practisers of ceremonious rites, superstitious gestures, actions and manners vsuall vnto Witches and Sorcerers. Since then, as is before prooued, Almighty God doth inioyne a necessity of testimonies, vnto all condemnations and iudgements of death whatsoeuer, and testimony doth alwaies necessarily include a manifestation of whatsoeuer is testified, either to sense, or reason, or both; it followeth as a necessary conclusion vnto all that hath bin said: that from things either manifest to sense, or euident to reason, issueth wholly and solely, not onely the reasonable and likely way of detection of Witches, but the very true way by God himselfe, in all true reason intended and commanded. And from this way it is, both by multitudes of examples, by experience and reason manifest, that neither Witches, nor the Diuell himselfe is altogether able to hide or defend their guilt. Diligence therefore herein duely and carefully exercising it selfe certainly shall not, nor can prooue the Lawe of God vaine, nor the owne endeouour frustrate or void, although haply difficulties and impediments may sometimes interrupt, as in

all other cases and affaires is vsuall.

Thus hath beene made manifest how Witch-craft is discoverable by sense, and euident by reason; likewise, that it is no more inscrutable or hidden from detection in the inquisition thereof, by signes of presumption, probable and likely coniecture or suspicion, then all other intricate or hidden subjects, or objects of the vnderstanding whatsoever. For, although presumptions are alone no sufficient prooffe, yet doe they yeeld matter and occasion of diligent and iudicious inquisition, which is the reasonable way and due method of vpright proceeding, and the common, hopefull and warranted path vnto all detections, in all other cases of doubt and difficulty whatsoever; wherein I see no cause or reason, why iudicious, wary and wise practise and prooffe, weighing and pressing circumstances into the bone and marrow, should not equally, in case of Witch-craft, as in all other cases of iudgement and inquisitions (though not euer because that exceeds the nature of presumption) equally, I say, and as oft should not confound the guilty, and chase and winde out as faire an issue.

Certainely, if men would more industriously exercise their sharper wits, exquisite sense, and awaked iudgements, according vnto the former reasonable, religious, and iudicious wayes, exempt from the burthen and incumbrance of blinde superstitions, traditionary and imaginary inuentions and customes, no doubt, but experience would yeeld and bring forth in short time, a much more rich increase of satisfaction, and more happy detection in iudiciall proceedings.

It is true, that in the case of Witch-craft many things are very difficult, hidden and infolded in mists and clouds, ouershadowing our reason and best vnderstanding.

Notwithstanding, why should men be more impatient or dejected, that in matters of Witch-craft, many things are oft hidden from our knowledge, and discovery, when the same darkenesse, obscurity, difficulty and doubtfulnesse, is a thing ordinary in many other subjects beside, as necessary.

fary vnto vs, and concerning which, it may be no lesse truly said, that in this life of mortality, much more is that which is vnkowne, then that which is knowne and reuealed vnto vs.

Hence is that ancient saying of the Philosopher: *Hoc tantum scio, quod nihil scio*, that is, so few are those things, which are demonstratiuely, truly, and certainly knowne, that they are nothing in comparison of the infinite number and multitude of such things, as are either onely probable, or obscure or inscrutable.

For to deny that God hath giuen vnto man a great measure of knowledge in many things, were not onely grosse darknesse and blindness, but great ingratitude, yea impiety. Neuerthelesse, it were also as great fatuity not to see or acknowledge, that God hath mixed this knowledge with much intricate difficulty and ambiguity, which notwithstanding he doth in his wisdom more or lesse reueale distribute and dispense, in seuerall measures, vnto seuerall men, according to their seuerall cares, studies, indefatigable paines, and more industrious indeauour, in seeking and inquiring it: in defect whereof more commonly then either in Gods decreed restraint, or natures abnuence, mens desires and labours are so often annihilate.

C H A P. XIII.

The confutation of diuers erroneous wayes, vnto the discouery of Witches, vulgarly receiued and approoued.

AS true religion doth truly teach the true worship of God in that true manner which he requireth, and commandeth: so superstition in an vnapt measure or manner, doth offer vp and sacrifice her vaine & foolish zeale or feare. Vnto her therefore & her sacrifice, thus doth Almighty God reply, Who required this at your hands? I hate and abhorre your Sabbathes and your new Moones, *Ysa. 58. 13. 14.* The heathen Oratour could say, *Religio continetur cultu pro-*

Deorum. True religion consisteth in the holy and true worship of God. Vnto the aduancing of the worship of the true God, the extirpation of Witches and Witch-craft (because it is the most abominable kinde of Idolatry) is a speciall seruice, and acceptable duty vnto God, expressely commanded by himselfe, *Deut.* 17. 3, 4, 5.

In the performance therefore of this worship, as it is solely and truly religious; to seeke their extermination by those meanes, and in that manner, which Almighty God doth approue and allow: so with misgouerned zeale or feare, in the ignorance, or neglect of the right manner or way, inconsiderately to follow vnwarranted pathes thereto, is plaine Superstition.

Iulius Scaliger, in his third booke of Poetrie, thus describeth very liuely the nature of Superstition. *Superstitio satisfacet ad notandum eum habitum, quo metumus, aut Deum sine ratione, aut ei opera attribnimus quae operae ne cogitauit quidem unquam ille*, that is, this word Superstition doth serue to set forth such an habit or disposition of minde, wherein wee worship or so feare God, as is voide of cause or reason, or vnto our owne hurt or damage, we attribute vnto God, as of God, those workes or things, which Almighty God himselfe neuer thought, or intended. The word which the Greekes vse for Superstition, is *δεισιδαιμονία, inconsulta & absurda diuina potentia formido*, that is, an absurd, and ill-aduised feare or worship of God, which certainly is there, where he neither requireth it, nor is true cause or reason either of such worship, or in such sort or manner.

In this speciall part therefore of the worship and feare of God, namely, in the discovery of Witch-craft and Sorcery, as wee haue before laboured to finde out those waies which are lawfull, iustificable, and allowed: so let vs now briefly display the folly and vanity of erroneous and blind pathes, pointing deceitfully thereto; that we seeke not superstitiously to serue God, in our inioyned and commanded duties of the discoveries of Witches, with our owne vanities or follies, rash inuentions, or deuices; but in reasonable, iust, discrete

discreete and religious proceeding, which is onely and solely acceptable with God.

In former ages and times, haue been published by diuers writers, many ridiculous traditions, herein so vaine, and so farre vnworthy any serious confutation, that they scarce deserue so much as bare mention.

Of this sort are the imagined profligations of the fits of the bewitched; by beholding the face of a Priest, by being touched by hallowed ointments, or liniments, by the vertue of exorcisation, of incense, of odours, of certaine mumbled sacred or mysticall words.

I will therefore omit these, as by time it selfe worne exolete, found worthlesse, and almost of later writers left namelesse, and will onely oppose and examine such later experiments, as doe in our time and country most preuaile in esteeme.

CHAP. XIII.

The casting of Witches into the water, Scratching, Beating, Pinching, and drawing of blood of Witches.

IT is vulgarly credited, that the casting of supposed Witches bound into the water, and the water refusing or not suffering them to sinke within her bosome or bowels, is an infallible detection that such are Witches.

If this experiment be true, then must it necessarily so be, either as a thing ordinary, or as a thing extraordinary: because nothing can happen or fall out, that is not limited within this circuit or compasse.

That which is ordinary, is naturall; as likewise that which is natural, is ordinary. *Aristotle* in the second of his *Ethicks* saith of that which is naturall, *quod aliter non assurscit*, that is, ordinarily it is not otherwise, then ever the same. From whence it doth follow by good consequent, that whatsoever is ordinary, must be naturall, because it keepeth the
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same course and order, which is the property of nature.

For this cause *Scaliger* in his booke *de subtilitate* saith, *Natura est ordinaria Dei potestas*; that is, nature is the ordinary power of God, in the ordinary course and government of all things.

If then this experiment in the tryall of Witches, be as a thing ordinary (as it is vulgarly esteemed) it must be found likewise naturall. If it cannot be found naturall, it cannot be ordinary. That it is not, nor cannot be naturall, is manifest.

First, for that the ordinary nature of things senselesse and void of reason, doth not distinguish one person from another, vertue from vice, a good man from an euill man. This our Sauour himselfe doth confirme, *Math. 5. verse. 45.* God maketh his sunne to arise on the euill, and the good, and sendeth raine on the iust and vniust.

Nay, we may further obserue in the booke of God, and also read in the booke of nature and common experience, that the common benefit of nature, is not onely vouchsafed vnto all wicked men indifferently, but euen vnto Diuels themselves, who doe not onely participate in nature the common essence, faculties and powers, proper vnto the substance and nature of all other Spirits; but also doe exercise these powers and spirituall forces vsually vpon other inferior natures, subiect vnto their supernaturall nature, reach and efficacy, as is often seene in their workes euen vpon the bodies and goods of the blessed Saints and sonnes of God.

Hereby then is euident, that nature cannot take notice, or distinguish a wicked man, nor not a Diuell, and therefore much lesse a Witch.

But here may be objected, that diuers herbs and other simples, produce many strange and wondered effects, by an hidden secret, and occult qualitie and property in nature, though there appeare no manifest qualitie oft-times in them, by which in reason or probabilitie they should or can bee effectuall thereto. This Physicians doe dayly witnesse
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and prooue true.

Why then may not there bee likewise yeilded the like hidden power, or antipatheticall vertue in the nature of the element of water, and thereby a Witch bee detected; as well without knowne cause or reason thereof in nature; notwithstanding naturally the euils or diseases both of body and minde, are both detected, and cured by elementary substances or compositions, in which there is no manifest knowne proportion therewith?

It is truly answered, that although in this supposed experiment of the disposition of the element of water towards Witches, casualty may haply sometimes seeme to iustifie it true; yet is not this sufficient to euince it a thing naturall. Those things which are naturall, necessarily and euer produce their effect, except some manifest or extraordinary interception or impediment hinder.

Thus fire doth necessarily, ordinarily, and alwaies burne and consume any combustible matter or fuell being added thereto, except either some manifest or extraordinary hindrance oppose it. The like may be saide of all other elements for their naturall effects in their proper objects. Naturall medicines likewise, if rightly accommodated with prudence, art and discretion vnto the right disease, doe neuer faile their vsuall productions or effects.

This Almighty God in his holy writ doth confirme, and long and aged experience of many hundreths of yeares hath successiuelly witnessed, wherein the ancient records of all learned writers, haue euer testified innumerable medicinal herbs and drugges, certainly and truely to bee euer the same. Present times doe likewise see & witnes it, and no man doth or can doubt it in the right prooffe. Concerning any such nature or custome in the element of water, in the refraction of Witches, who was as yet euer able to write and fully resolve, or prooue it ordinary, necessary, certaine, euer or for the most part, not failing as is in course of nature most infallible and neuer doubted? What former ages haue successiuelly vouchsafed the mention of truth or cer-

tainty therein? Hath Almighty God, at all, so much as approved any opinion or thought thereof? Is it not rather to be iustly doubted, that it may be esteemed among the abominations of the Gentiles, which God in his people doth detest, *Deut. 18. verse 9*? Doe all men in our time, or good and iust men auouch their owne prooffe in the tryall thereof? Or contrariwise, doe not many wise, religious, learned and equall minds with reason reiect and contemne it? Doth Law as yet establish it, or reason prooue it? How can it then be proposed as equiuallent with those reasonable meanes or wayes, of iust proceedings or tryalls, which God, his diuine Lawe, his law of nature, iudgement, reason, experience, and the lawes of men haue euer witnessed, perpetually and onely assured certaine and infallible?

It wanteth the vniuersall testimony of former ages and Writers; in this our age it is held in ieaiousie with the most iudicious, sage, and wise: It hath no reasonable prooffe, no iustificable tryall hath dared to auouch it vpon publike record, no lawe hath as yet, thought it worthy of admittance; and the Lawe of God is not prooued to prooue or approue it. If it had beene a thing naturall, ordinary, of necessary, or of certaine operation or power, and therein so evidently remarkable, it is impossible it should haue escaped authentick approbation, or the same notable testimonies, which all other tryed truths haue euer obtained. From the former premises therefore we conclude, that it cannot be a thing naturall, necessary or ordinary. If it be not ordinary, then is it not alwaies the same; if not alwayes the same, then is it sometimes failing; if sometimes failing, then is it not infallible; if not infallible, then in no true iudgement or iustice to be trusted or credited. It now remaineth to inquire, whether being prooued false or ordinary, it may not be prooued true as extraordinary (for to esteeme or grant it both is an impossibility in nature, and an absurdity in reason.) Let vs grant, it may be iudged and deemed extraordinary; the next doubt then remaining is, whether being extraordinary or miraculous, it be of God or of the Diuell.

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The reason why some men suppose it should be of God, is, for that the water is an element which is vsed in Baptisme, and therefore by the miraculous and extraordinary power of God, doth reiect and refuse those who haue renounced their vowe and promise thereby, made vnto God, of which sort are Witches.

If this reason be sound and good, why should not Bread and Wine, being elements in that Sacrement of the Eucharist, be likewise noted and obserued to trurne backe, or fly away from the thraotes, mouthes, and teeth of Witches? and why, (if for the former reason, the water being an element in the Sacrament of couenant, made with God, in the first initiation into the faith, doe for that cause refuse to receiue Witches into her bosome, and thereby giue an infallible prooffe of a Witch?) Why, I say, should not by the same reason Bread and Wine, being elements in the Sacrament of confirmation and growth of faith, refuse and fly from those much more, whose faith and promise made vnto God in riper and more vnderstanding yeares, is by them renounced? And why for that cause, should not Bread and Wine become as infallible markes and testimonies vnto the detection of Witches? If the reason be good in the first, it must necessarily be the same in the second; and if it faile in the second, it cannot be good or sound in the first. Neither doth it or can it stand with any good reason at all, that because so small part of the element of water, is set apart vnto that religious seruice in the Sacrament; therefore, the whole element of water, or all other waters must thereby obtaine any generall common property about the kinde or nature. Neither is it as yet agreed, or concluded generally among the most learned, and reuerend Divines, whether that small part of water which in particular is set apart, or vsed in the Sacrament, doth thereby receiue any manifest alteration at all in substance, essence, nature or quality. If then that part of the element of water it selfe, which is hallowed vnto that holy vse, be not manifested, or apparently prooued to be thereby indowed with any vertue, much lesse

can it communicate any vertue vnto other waters, which did not participate therewith in the same religious service. Except then there may be prooued by this religious vse of water, some more endowment of sense or religion therein, then is in other elements, why should it more fly from a Witch then the fire, then the ayre, then the earth? The fire doth warme them, the ayre flyeth not from them, but giueth them breathing; the earth refuseth not to beare them, to feede them, to bury them. Why then should the water alone runne away or flye from them? It may be answered, that it is a miracle, whereof therefore there neither can nor ought reason in nature to be demaunded or giuen. If it be a miracle, it is either a true miracle, which onely and solely doth exceed the power of any * created nature, or is a seeming miracle by the power of the Diuell, working effects in respect of mans reason, nature, and power supernaturall and impossible; notwithstanding confined and limited within the generall rule, reason and power of vniuersall nature, which he * cannot exceed or transcend, being a finite creature, and no infinite Creator.

* Non est creator, nisi qui principaliter format: nec quicquam hoc potest, nisi vnus Creator Deus. Aug. 3. de Trin.

* Augustinus 3. de Trin. Alia potest si non prohibetur, Dæmon: Alia non potest, etsi permittatur, quæ admodum homo potest, ambulare si non prohibetur, volare non potest, etsi permittatur. Petr. Lomb. Sent. lib. 2, Dist 7.

Miracles, of the first kinde, are raising from the dead the son. of the widow of Sarepta, by *Elias* 3. of the kings, 17. the diuiding the water of *Jordan* with *Elias* cloake, 4. of the *Kings* 2. the curing of the sicke by *S. Pauls* handkercher, *Act.* 5. 19. the raising *Lazarus* by our blessed Sauour, and the like.

Miracles of the second kinde, are all the workes of the Enchanters of *Egypt*, *Exod.* 7. which were onely diuellish sleights, cunning * imitations, counterfets, and Diabolically call resemblances and shadowes of the true miracles, wrought by Almighty God, in the hand of his seruant *Moses*.

If this miracle, or this miraculous detection of Witches by water, be of this later kinde, it is of the Diuell; and is not to be esteemed or named, where the Name of God is feared or called vpon.

For although the cunning fraude of the Diuell, aboue and beyond

beyond all capacitie of the weake sense and vnderstanding of man, doe so liuely oft-times cast before our eyes, the outward shape and similitude of the miracles of God, that man is not able easily to distinguish them, or at first sight to put a true difference: yet must men studiously, and circumspectly be aduised herein, lest rashly they confound, or equall the vile and abiect illusions of that damned creature the Diuell (though neuer so wonderfull in our eyes) vnto the infinite power of the Almighty Creator, in his true and truely created miracles, which is an high dishonour vnto our God, and accursed impiety.

For this cause, the holy Scripture hath admonished and warned the weakenesse of humane vnderstanding, not to be transported by signes and wonders, nor to trust or giue credit to euery miracle: and our Saviour himselſe, *Math. 24. verse. 24.* doth furnish his Disciples with carefull warning herein. And *S. Iohn*, in his Reuelation fore-telleth, that in the latter dayes and times, the Diuell and the great Whore of Babylon, shall with great signes, wonders, and miracles, seduce and deceiue the last ages, and people of the world.

Since then miracles are of no validity, except certainly and truely knowne to be of God; and since also it is not easie for euery Spirit to discerne therein, let vs duely examine and sift this our supposed and proposed miracle in the tryall and detection of Witches. *Petrus Gregorius Tholosanus* in his *Syntagma Iuris*, lib. 2. cap. 12. in a treatise concerning the Relicks and Monuments of Saints, together with miracles, doth giue very honest, sound, and substanti-
all direction.

First, that all credited miracles be found and allowed by religious lawes and authoritie.

Secondly, that the persons by whom they are first reuealed or knowne, or by whom they are auouched, be *testes idonei, omnis exceptione maiores*, that is, that they be worthy witnesses of vndoubted and vnstained credit and worth, free from all iust exception, of holy life, and vnstained conuer-

sation. Without these cautions (saith he) no miracles ought to be esteemed, or receiued as of truth.

How farre our vulgar tryall of Witches, by the supposed miraculous indication and detection of them by the water, is different from this care or respect, this equitie, religion, or humanitie, common practise doth openly declare, when without allowance of any law, or respect of common civillitie, euery priuate, rash, and turbulent person, vpon his owne surmise of a Witch, dare barbarously vndertake by vnciuill force and lawlesse violence, to cast poore people bound into the water, and there deteine them, for their owne vaine and foolish lusts, without sense, or care of the shamefull wrong, or iniury, which may befall oft-times innocents thereby.

Though this kinde of tryall of a Witch, might haply prooue in it selfe worthy to be allowed, yet is it not in euery priuate person iustificable, or tolerable, or without warrant of authoritie in any sort excusable. The manner therefore of this vulgar tryall, must needs with iust and honest mindes, vncontrouersedly, and vndoubtedly, be rusticall, barbarous, and rude. Now to returne againe into the truth of the miracle it selfe in this tryall.

First, let vs enquire with *Petrus Gregorius*, what religious lawes or authoritie haue admitted it as true.

Secondly, what religious, reuerend, iudicious, graue, or holy Spectators, or eye-witnesses doe auouch it. Let vs yet farther proceede with the same Author, in the fore-named *Syntagma*, lib. 34. cap. 21. and by some other rules, farther examine this miracle, if it be well and duely auouched and credited, concerning the being thereof, whether that being be not a being of the Diuell, & of his miracles. (*onatus omnis Daemonum* (saith the Author) *unum habet generalem scopum, operibus Dei se obicere, ei debitum honorem subfurari, pios hominum animos sibi lucri facere, & a vero Deo retrahere.* That is, the workes of the Diuell haue one generall scope; namely, to oppose themselves against the workes of God, to rob God of his honour, to drawe the hearts of men from

from God, and to gaine them vnto himselfe. Let vs now consider the fore-named miracle by these rules.

Concerning the approbation thereof by any religious lawes or authority, I haue neuer read my selfe, nor haue heard by others, of any authentike suffrage from classically Author, and with good reason, I may conceiue and iudge a nullity therein.

Concerning any religious, learned, and iudicious Spectators and auouchers of this miracle, whose faith and credit may be wholly free from al iust exception, it hath euer been a difficult and hard taske to furnish any true sufficiencie or competency in this kinde, though multitudes and swarmes of deceived Vulgars, continually and violently obtrude their phantastickall sominations. Since then as yet there doth no manifest law stand vp to patronage this miracle, and the learned, religious, and holy man able to discerne and iudge, and free from exception, is not at all, or hardly to be produced or found to auouch or countenance it true; it may be with good reason suspected, and that reason may iustly dissuade all sodaine, rash, or hasty credit or trust thereof. Now let vs examine, if it were vndoubtedly to be assumed as true, whether being true, it be not as truely of the Diuell. And first let vs consider, whether it doe not oppose the workes of God, which was the first direction of *Gregorius*. It is herein truely conuicted, because the novelty and supposed miraculous force and might thereof, doth first vsually and easily intise vnsetled braines, rashly to forsake the wayes of iudgement and iudicious legall proceeding, which is the ordinance and worke of God: secondly, doth imbolder staggering and varesolued minds presumptuously without warrant to expect, to aske or seeke a signe or miracle, which ordinarily or vnneccessarily required, our blessed Sauour apertly condemneth, *Matth. 16*. An adulterous and vnbeleeuing generation doth seeke a signe or miracle. And as herein it directly opposeth against the decree and worke of God; so likewise by giuing occasion and way, that supposed miracles may become vulgarly common and ordinary

ordinary, whereby the true miracles and miraculous workes of God also may grow with vndiscerning men of lesse esteeme, vile and of no accompt. *Nam miracula Dei assiduitate viluerunt* (saith S. *Augustine*) the miracles and miraculous workes of God, being oft seene, become of smal or no reputation. The second tryall of a false miracle, was the robbing of God of his due honour and praise, which in this proposed miracle is partly prooued; by making the extraordinary work or vse of miracles ordinary, and thereby derogating from the power, worth and nature of Gods true miracles (as is before said): partly by vnthankfull vnder-valewing, omitting, or relinquishing the ordinary meanes of tryals and detections of doubtfull truths, which God hath made & giuen in his good grace; and therefore their contempt and neglect is a manifest robbing of God of his due praise and glory therein. The third tryall of the Diuels property in miracles, was the seducing of mens hearts from God vnto himselfe, which in our supposed miracle may be necessarily concluded. For if the miracle it selfe be vpon good grounds before alleaged, rightfully deemed to bee of the Diuell; it must necessarily follow, that whatsoever esteeme or reputation is giuen thereto, is a secret sacrifice of ignorance or superstition vnto the Diuell, and an hidden and couert seduction from God: and thus hath beene prooued, or at least, with good reason alleaged. First that the tryall of Witches by water, is not naturall or according to any reason in nature. Secondly, if it be extraordinary and a miracle, that it is in greater likelihood and probability a miracle of the Diuell to insnare, then any manifest miracle of God to glorifie his name, which is the true end of right miracles. Concerning the other imagined trialls of Witches, as by beating, scratching, drawing bloud from supposed or suspected Witches, whereby it is said that the fits or diseases of the bewitched do cease miraculously; as also concerning the burning of bewitched cattell, whereby it is said, that the Witch is miraculously compelled to present her selfe.

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These, and the like, I thinke it vaine and needlesse, particularly or singly to confute, because it doth directly appeare, by their examination, according to the former rules produced against the naturalizing of the detection of Witches by casting them into the water, that first they are excluded out of the number of things naturall: secondly, that being reputed as miracles, they will also be rather iustly iudged miracles of the Diuell, then of God; by the former reasons which haue stripped the supposed miraculous detection of Witches by the water, of any hopefull opinion that they can be of God.

Nor doth our law now in force, differ here from respecting such like miraculous trialls. See the triall by *Ordeal* abolished by Parliament the third yeare of *Henry* the third, *Coke* 9. *Rep. Case Abbot de Strata Mercella* Fol. 33.

CHAP. XV.

The exploration of Witches, by supernaturall revelations in the bewitched, by signes and secret markes, declared by the bewitched, to be in the body of the suspected Witch, by the touch of the Witch curing the touched bewitched.

Here remaine as yet other miraculous explorations of a Witch, carrying in their first view a far more wondered representation then any or all the former explorations. One is, when persons bewitched, shall in the time of their strange fits or trances nominate or accuse a Witch, and for a true testimony against him, or her, thus nominated, shall reueale secret markes in his or her body, neuer before seene or knowne by any creature; nay, the very words or workes, which the supposed, or thus nominated Witch shall be acting or speaking in farre distant places, euen in the very moment and point of time, while they are in acting or speaking; all which I haue sometimes my selfe heard and seene prooued true. This is reputed a certaine

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conuiction of a witch. An other miraculous tryal of a Witch and like vnto this, wonderfull is; when a supposed Witch required by the bewitched, doth touch him or her (though when vnknowne or vnperceiued by the bewitched themselves,) yet according to the prediction of that issue by the bewitched, he or shee immediately are deliuered from the present fit or agony, that then was vpon him or her, which I haue also my selfe scene. For the better discovery of truth in these so wondered difficulties, let vs first recall to minde these few obseruations in our former Treatise determined and prooued. First, that the Diuell doth many miraculous and supernaturall things meereley simply and alone of himselfe, for his owne ends, and without the instigation or association of a Witch. This was made manifest by his conference, disputation and speech with *Eua* after a miraculous manner, out of the body of the Serpent, when as yet neither Witch, nor Witch-craft were come into the world. Secondly, that the Diuell is able to obtrude or impose his supernaturall or miraculous workes vpon men, against their knowledge, liking, will, or affection, and being vnrequired. This is cleere by his transuersion of the body of our blessed Saviour, as also by his violent casting of the bodies of the possessed, amongst the people mentioned in the Gospell. Thirdly, let vs not here forget specially, that hee is able to transmit and send vnto, or into men vnrequired, and without their desire or assent, secret powers, force, knowledge, illuminations, and supernaturall reuelations. This was prooued by the possessed in the Gospell, who from a secret and hidden reuelation and power, aboue and beyond themselves, were able to vtter that high mystery, as yet hidden from the world, that Iesus was the Sonne of the living God. This could not be knowne vnto them, by their owne reason, or nature, being aboue and beyond all reason or nature, and by grace onely then begun to be reuealed vnto the blessed Disciples themselves. To thinke that the possessed could haue that knowledge equally with the Disciples by the same grace, were impious derogation from their

Apostolicall priuiledge and prerogatiue therein, vnto whom did properly belong the first fruits thereof alone.

This supernaturall reuelation therefore was transfused into the possessed by the Diuell, who could not be ignorant of the Lyon of *Juda*, the mighty destroyer of his spirituall kingdome, long before the disciples were borne, or capable of knowledge. And thus hauing recalled these obseruations, from them doe issue these necessary inferences. First, that all supernaturall acts or works in men, are not to bee imputed vnto those men. Secondly, that for this cause those supernaturall workes, are onely to be imputed vnto men which the Diuell, according vnto contract or Couenant which those men doth practise and produce.

And for this cause, in the inquisition of Witch-craft, when we haue truely first detected an act, done by a spirituall and supernaturall force (because it is in all lawes iniurious, to accuse of any act, before it be certainly knowne the act hath beene committed) then, and not before, wee ought endeavour directly and necessarily to prooue the contract, consent, and affection of the person suspected, vnto, or in that supernaturall act, that being no lesse essentiall, to detect and discover the true and vndoubted Witch; then the supernaturall act, being certainly apparent, doth vndoubtedly prooue the Diuell, and his power therein.

This equall regard, in case of Witch-craft, ought to bee carefully ballanced, without which vaine and vnstable men shall euer at their lust and pleasure, vpon affections and passions, be priuiledged with impunity, to lay vniust imputations, and to vse wrongfull violence and oppression beyond all equitie, or reason.

When therefore men that are prudent, iudicious, and able to discern, doe first aduisedly vpon good ground and reason, adiudge a supernaturall act evidently done, or at least worthy to be suspected: secondly, shall by iust and reasonable prooffe, or at least liuely and faire presumption detect the contract, affection, or consent of any man in that act; then and not before, is the accusation, inquisition

and inditement of Witch-craft, against any man equall and iust.

For since a supernaturall worke can be truly and simply no act of a naturall man, and is the immediate hand and power of a Diuell (as is formerly ptooued) it is the mans consent, contract and covenant alone, in the act with the Diuell, that being detected and disconered, doth infallibly and essentially prooue him a Witch, and not the act it selfe.

These obseruations, and considerations, first necessarily prefixed, let vs now proceed vnto the two former propounded experiments of the miraculous detection of Witches.

* Herein the Diuell affecteth to imitate the power of God in his holy Prophet, who was able by his diuine reuelation to make known what the King spake in his Priny Chamber. 2. Kings verse 12. cap. 6. He herein also counterfetteth the Diuinitie of our Sauour, seeing Nathaniel, when he was vnder the Figge-tree. Ioh, 1. 49.

It is necessarily true, that it can solely proceed from a supernaturall power, that the bewitched are inabled in their traunces, to fore-tell the sequell of the supposed Witches touch: likewise, that the nominated Witch, shall accordingly by her touch immediately free and dispossesse the Sicke or the bewitched of their agonies.

It is as necessarily true also, that it can solely proceed from a supernaturall power, that the bewitched are able in their traunces to nominate the most secret and hidden marks in the bodies of the suspected Witch, her present speech * and actions in farre distant places, and the like, but whether these miraculous Reuelations, with their answerable euents, ought to bee esteemed iust convictions of the persons thus by a supernaturall finger, pointed out and noted; as also whether they proceede of God or of the Diuell, is very materiall, to examine and consider.

If they proceede from God, their end, their extraordinary necessitie and vse, bent solely vnto the immediate speciall glory, or extraordinary glorification of God therein, will euidently declare.

What more extraordinary glorification of God can be pretended in the needfulnesse of a miraculous detection of Witch-craft, then of any other sinne committed, as immediately

mediately against God, and with as high an hand? Witchcraft is indeed one kinde of horrid renunciation, and forsaking of God, but there are many more kinds much more hellish then this secret and concealed defection: as the open cursings, wilfull blasphemings, and spitefull railings vpon God, euen vnto his face, professed hatred and contempt of God.

Among many Offendors in these kindes, after their owne long prouoking continuance therein, and Almighty God his vnspeakeable long suffering and patience: some few sometimes haue been made hideous spectacles and examples vnto the rest, of the infinite power and iustice of God, his vnsufferable displeasure, indignation and direfull reuenging wrath. In this number was, for some time *Nebuchadnezer*, and *Pharaoh King of Egypt*, and in later times *Julian the Apostata*, and others the like. Many other as high Blasphemers, and despisers of God, notwithstanding haue been permitted to escape any such miraculous punishments, or fearefull notorious exposings vnto the worlds view.

Rabshakeh, railing on the living God, in the open view and hearing of the men of *Israel*, and *Olofernes* denying the God of heauen, were not miraculously, or by any immediate hand of God smitten, but were suffered to grow on, vntill their haruest of confusion was ripe. That high degree of blasphemie against the Sonne of the living God, hanging vpon the Crosse for the sinnes of mankind, committed by the cruell and hard-hearted Iewes, in scorning, scoffing, and spitefull derision both of God in heauen, *Math. 27. verse 43.* and also of the eternall Sauour of the world, descended from heauen, was not by God then extraordinarily reuenged (as the incomparable greatnesse of the sinne might seeme to require) but was in Almighty God his iust iudgement, suffered, vntill in the due time, their owne execrations, and cursings of themselves, and their posterity, thereby to hasten and purchase the effusion of that holy innocent blood, did fall vpon them so heauily, that their whole

Nation, People, and Kingdome, became extirpate, vile, and vagabond for euer vpon the face of the earth. It is recorded in the *Reuelation, chap. 13. verse 5, 6, 7.* concerning the Beast, that he opened his mouth vnto blasphemy against God, his Tabernacle, and the Saints; that he spake great mighty blasphemies, yet power was giuen vnto him to continue, and preuaile therein many yeares, and a large space of time.

By these few examples it is euident, that neither the height, the nature, the quantitie, nor the qualitie, of the most abominable, or prouoking sinne, most odious vnto God and men, doth vsually, or alwaies draw downe from heauen vpon it selfe a miraculous immediate hand of Gods wrath. We may easily instance the like, concerning the sin of witch-craft, which is our particular subiect.

Although by the hand of his holy seruant Saint *Paul*, Almighty God did miraculously smite the Sorcerer *Elymas*, & as writers report, *Simon Magus*, by the hand of *S. Peter*, multitudes and societies of other Sorcerers, and Southsayers among the *Caldeans*, escaped not onely the hands of *Nebuchadnezer*, in his wrath; but as it seemeth in the prophecy of *Daniel*, they liued many yeares in high esteeme, fame, and renowe, both in their owne Nation, and also in forreine Countreyes, yea through the world. There is no doubt, that *Egypt* likewise did abound with swarmes of Sorcerers, as the holy Scriptura, and all times and writers report. Among the people of God also, the Israelites, it is manifest that diuers Sorcerers and Witches did shrowd themselves, and liued with impunity, as appeareth by the Witch of *Endor*, which king *Sanles* seuerity, in their general extirpation thorow the whole kingdome, had notwithstanding passed by, and left vnespied; as also by that special note and commendations, from Gods owne mouth and word of *Ioshua*, that is, that hee had taken away from amidst his people, all the Enchanters and Sorcerers: by which it is likely and cannot be denied, that through the lenitie or carelesnesse of former Princes, they formerly had long securely

curely their breathed. That God doth not vse by miracle^s to dete& all, or most Enchanters, Magicians, or Witches, is farther made vndoubted; because it should follow then & thence necessarily, that he hath both in the first ages of the world, ordained lawes, and ordinary, legall courses of proceeding against them in vaine; as also for that he doth, in the holy records of his sacred word, make knowne his Decree, that they shall be permitted to liue and continue vpon the face of the earth among other, and as other vnrepentant sinners, vntill his second comming, and the last day of eternall doome, *Reuelar.chap.22.verf.15.* without shall be Enchanters. If his Iustice and seuerer iudgement should by his miraculous power make so narrow search amongst them, as ordinarily to root them out, it were impossible any one of them should escape his all-seeing reuengefull hand, to suruiue vnto his generall decreed day of sentence, and dreadfull doome, of all kinde of sinnes and sinners, which both in iustice vnto some, and mercy vnto other some, his infinite goodnesse and wisdom hath decreed, shall not be frustrate. Although therfore Almighty God doth sometimes stretch forth his mighty hand miraculously to smite, or bring into light some horrid sinnes and sinners, his extraordinary power therein sometimes onely extended, at his owne good will and pleasure, doth not iustifie the presumptuous expectation of the dispensation thereof in any particular. God who is the God of order, and not of confusion, doth not ordinarily dispense his extraordinary workes, nor vsually confound indifferently, so different natures in their end and vse, and his owne decree. Nature it selfe doth also teach an impossibility in that which is extraordinary, to become or be expected ordinary. In that way which is ordinary, the industrious, the diligent, the prouident man therefore doth with carefull perseverance vprightly walke. The slothfull, onely the intemperate, the improvident man, either by folly or ignorance loseth or by idle sloth forgetteth, or omitteth, his ordinary way or opportunity, and ridiculously hopeth or trusteth vnto the

the redemption thereof, by extraordinary contingents or euents.

Thus it hath appeared, that in regard of any more speciall or extraordinary glorification of God, in the detection of Witches, rather then of other as great and as abominable sinners, their is no needfull or necessary vse of myracles.

The second consideration was, whether they are not rather of the Diuell, then of God, as also, how they may be any iust convictions of the supposed or suspected guilty.

Wee will first herein examine the touch of the supposed Witch, immediatly commanding the cessation of the supposed fits of the bewitched. That this is a false or Diabolicall miracle and not of God, may be iustly doubted.

First, because the holy and blessed power of working miracles (among which, the healing the Sicke or the possessed was not the least) was neuer of God dispensed, to haunt or follow the touch of wicked men, or Sorcerers or Witches.

Secondly, for that the true miracles of God (which were euer dispensed, either for the common good of his Church, or the declaration of his glorious truth, or for the extraordinary punishment and destruction of euill men) did neuer obscurely, or indirectly, prooue themselves or their ends, but in their manifestation were inabled to ouer-shine cleerely, all the fogges and mists of doubt or question.

The contrary hereunto in this our suspected miracle is manifest, wherein is ridiculously imagined, that the blessed gift and vertue of healing the sicke, descended from God aboue, may be reputed in the hands of a Witch a signe or testimony of his or her guilt and impiety, which euer hath beene, and is in it selfe a speciall grace and fauour of God, and was euer vsed rather as a confirmation of the truth of Gods Ministers and seruants. Let vs now consider how this miraculous touch and the efficacy thereof, may be any iust conuiction of a Witch. No man can doubt that the vertue wherewith this touch was indued, was supernaturall. If it bee supernaturall, how can man, vnto whom nothing simply

ply is possible, that is not naturall, bee iustly reputed any proper Agent therein? If hee cannot bee esteemed in himselfe any possible or true Agent, then it remaineth, that hee can onely bee interested therein, as an accessary in consent; as a Solicitor or Tenant vnto a superiour power. If that superiour power (as is before prooued in the falsehood of his miracle) be the Diuell, the least reasonable doubt remaining whether the Diuell alone, or with the consent or contract of the suspected person hath produced that wonderfull effect: with what Religion or reason can any man rather incline to credit the Diuels information in the mouth of the bewitched (who is the common accuser of God to men, and of men to God) then in requisite pittie, pietie, and humane respect vnto his owne kinde to tender the weakenesse of fraile man, against the subtilty of the deceitfull Diuell. Shall man with man find lesse fauour, then the Diuell with man against man? That the Diuell is able by the permission of God, to annex or hang this miracle vpon this or that particular, is manifest, by the possessed in the Gospell; vpon whom and their naturall actions and motions, he cast supernaturall consequences or concomitances. Was not their speech attended with supernaturall reuelation, their hands with supernaturall force, to rend and teare in pieces iron chaines and bonds? If the Diuell be able to transfuse, or cast these miraculous concomitances or consequences alone, and without allowance of any man or person where God doth permit; how is it in any equity or reason iust, that these impositions of the Diuell should be imputed vnto any man? God forbid, that the Diuels signes and wonders, nay his truths should become any legall allegations or euidences in lawe. We may therefore conclude it vniust, that the forenamed miraculous effects by the Diuell wrought and imputed by the bewitched, should be esteemed a signe or infallible marke against any man, as therefore convinced a Witch, for that the Diuell and the bewitched haue so deciphered him. These like miraculous stratagems may be exercised vpo any man,

or vnto any mans actions may be deceitfully or fraudulently by the Diuell conioined or apted. This therefore doth not inferre any mans. guilt therein. It ought be a mans owne proper contract therein with the Diuell, necessarily and directly proued, that shall iustly condemne him. This contract may be and is plainly detected, by sisting and considering; that mans voluntarily assisting or promoting, promising, or vndertaking such supernaturall workes, with answerable performance thereof. As hath beene said, concerning the miraculous consequence of the touch of a suspected Witch; so may be determined concerning the supernaturall reuelations of secret markes or signes in her body, according vnto the prediction of the bewitched, as also of the discouery of the present actions, gestures, and speeches of supposed Witches in farre distant places. Diuers examples I my selfe haue scene in these kinds: I must necessarily acknowledge a more then natural power therein, because farre beyond the nature, reason, or power of man. But there is notwithstanding sufficient matter of doubt, whether such reuelations, secret signes, and marks, though found in the named persons or parts true, as also the right pourtraictures & shapes of the supposed or accused Witches, though neuer of the bewitched before scene, and yet by the bewitched truly described; there is, I say, notwithstanding, sufficient matter of doubt, whether they are not very insufficient to charge or accuse any particular thus pointed out or marked. The Law and expresse commandement of God doth allow of no reuelation from any other Spirit, but from himselfe, *I/a.* 8. 19. Whether these reuelations are immediately of God, if their due examination by the rule of his Word * doe not clearely determine, rash or hasty perturbation or passion ought not presume it. The lawes of men also admit no supernaturall illuminations or reuelations, as any grounds of iust tryals or decisions of right or truth. It follows therefore necessarily, that they are voide, & ought to be of no force or credit in vpright iudgement with iust and righteous men. It may bee objected, that

*-E STIN
AMARTIA
ANOMIA.
Quicquid
non congruit
cum lege,
peccatum
est.

that truth is found in these reuelations, and truth ought be of regard. It may hereto againe bee replied, that although truth in it selfe be great, and ought and will preuaile; yet in the abuse, euill vse, or corrupted, or depraued end thereof, it ought not deceiue nor is of force. The Diuell, as all other cunning lyers and deceiuers and imitators of that his art, vsually mixe truths with lyes, that those truths giuing credit vnto lyes, men may beleue both and so be deceiued. It was euer the onely safe way of lying, to face and guard it with some plausible truths. In the former reuelations therefore, representations and true descriptions in the bewitched, of persons of secret markes and signes, of speeches, gestures, and the like, although the Diuell be found true, or speaking truth, yet may he notwithstanding haply bee therein also a lyer, while truly describing their persons, shapcs, markes, manners and gestures, speeches and the like, he falsely and lyingly addeth thereby a seeming or deceiuing necessity of their guilt, as if therein or thereby necessarily inferred. The fallacy illusion and the lyingly true reuelations of the Diuell, may by many examples be manifested. *Ianus Iacobus Boissardus in his tract. de Diuinatione Chap. 5.* reporteth an admirable story of a noble Gentleman his familiar friend, and knowne vnto himselfe. This man flying from his owne natieue Countrey for feare of punishment for a murther by him committed, and liuing in farre distant coasts, desired curiously to enquire what his wife was in his absence doing, whom hee had (being very faire young and beautifull) married two monethes onely before his departure or voluntary exile. For this purpose he came vnto a Magitian liuing in the place of exile, who liuely described vnto him the true fashion, building, and ornaments of his house where his wife in his absence liued, her apparrell, countenance, & the like, as they were perfectly foreknowne vnto himselfe. He farther expecting to learne what she was at that present instant doing. The Magitian made knowne that there was then in her company a beautifull young

man with his hose or breeches about his heeles standing neere or close vnto her. Vppon the knowne truth of the *Magician* his first description of his house and wife, the gentleman assuring himselfe of the truth of the second description of seeming manifest adultery in her, secretly stealeth home with an absolute resolution by murdering of her to be reuenged, & comming home by stealth neere vnto the place where his house & her dwelling was, by a ring (which as an infallible testimonie of her true loue she had deliuered vnto him at his departure) he immediately caused her to come vnto him. Her kinde and louing intertainment so qualified and mollified his intended rage and fury, that he had patience first to confer with her, which before his sight of her, he did not intende. After her conference he demaunded whether such a day (naming the certaine day) she did not weare apparrel of such a colour and fashion. She answered with wonder that it was true. He againe demaunded what that was which she smoothed and handled in her hand, and who that young man was which stood neere her with his hose about his heeles. She hereat amazed and perceiving the sodaine change of a fierce and cruell looke in her husband, desired him to be pacified and better informed. The young man was his owne brother who could witnesse the truth thereof, and that which she smoothed or stroked in her hand was a plaister which she did smooth for him and applyed vnto his hip, where he had a very greiuous and painefull vicer. This being found true, the husband sorrowed for his bloody intention, and detested the execrable and damnable Art of the *Magician*, and the foule lying truth of the Diuell. How foulely likewise many other men by these like darke and double dealing trutthes, equiuocations, and amphibologies, haue beene deceaued consulting with the diuell and his oracles may be by many other examples testified. The same Author mentioneth the oraculous reuelation by dreame presented vnto the daughter of *Polycrates* of *Samos*. It was reuealed vnto her that her father should be taken vp into heauen, be washed by

by *Iupiter* and annointed by the Sun. This after proued true but in a dreaming sence. For *Polyrates* being surpris'd by *Orantes*, was hanged vp toward heauen vpon an high Crosse, where *Iupiter* (that is the ayre) with his moisture did wash him, and the Sun melting his grease and the substance of his flesh did so annoint him as was least imagined or suspected. *Plutarke* in the life of *Anniball* reporteth that *Anniball* consulted with the oracle concerning his owne reserved destiny or end. The oracle answered that *Libissa* land should burie his corpes. Hereupon he presumed that he should returne into that his owne countrey and therein his old age die. He grewe therefore secure and careles. But shortly afterward being taken by the *Romanes* in a little obscure village by the sea coast called by the name of *Libissa*, he there grewe wearie of his life and poysoned himselfe in the Diuels truth: behold vntruth and deceit. *Libissa* buried *Anniball*, but not *Libissa* by *Anniball* either knowne or possible to be imagined. These examples are sufficient whereby is plainly seen the dangerous deceitfull fallacy of the diuel euen where he speaketh truth. Let vs now returne againe vnto our former miraculous prediction of the Diuell by the mouth of the bewitched concerning the cure of the bewitched by the touch of the supposed Witch. We may boldly affirme that in this case or in any other, if it were possible for the diuell to speake the truth, truly, wholly, vnpartially; so as it might appeare plaine, euident, manifest; yet ought we not from him beleue it or receiue it. This is in our blessed Sauour made vndoubted, who in the Gospell oft rebuked him euen speaking truth, as also in *S. Paul* rebuking the Pythonisse, truly affirming, and acknowledging him the seruant and Minister of God. If the diuell then speaking truth, may not be allowed or credited; how shall reuelations, miracks or oracles proceeding from him, be they neuer so true, or approued with any shew of true Religion or reason, become any iust probations or allegations in law, equity or iustice? it may be objected, that many times men haue bin by dreames and visions admoni-

shed of secret and concealed hideous murders, and other euill facts committed priuily, whereby the Malefactors and their guilt haue bin admirably produced vnto due punishment. This truth is euen by Heathen Authors witnessed, and in our time the like haue happened, and is testified by witnesses, whose faith and credit is free from all exception. Although this be true and cannot be denied, some reasons notwithstanding doe perswade that it is more safe to incline, to suspect that these like visions or dreames are rather of the Diuell, then rashly to determine or decree that they are immediately of God. First, for that though haply they might be sometimes so-granted, yet ought we not too swiftly or sodainly to belecue, for that by the liuely counterfait of the true visions, dreames and reuelations of God, the Diuell hath euer vsually practised to be taken and esteemed as God: the allowance whereof by men is high blasphemy against God, and ignorant occult adoration of Diuels. Secondly, for that no visions, dreames, or reuelations, ought to be esteemed of God, originally or immediately, which doe respect or answer curiositie of knowledge or desire, as most of the forementioned kinds vsually are wont. Thirdly, for that the visions of God, as they are euer bent vnto an extraordinary, diuine end, and an vniuersall good, so are they euer dispensed by the ministry of men, who haue manifest commission, or warrant from God, either mediate, or immediate. The mediate is prouoed by the manifestation of the meanes: the immediate, by the euident reflexion of a manifest diuinity, in the power and authority thereof. For as it is said of the word of God, *Heb. 4. verse 12.* so must it necessarily be concluded of all the true miracles, visions, or reuelations of God, that they are liuely, and mighty in operation.

This is scene in the miracles wrought by *Moses*, which the Sorcerers themselues could not deny to bee the finger of God, *Gen. 8. verse 19.* This is likewise scene in

Simon

Simon Magus, who could not but acknowledge the miraculous power of the holy Ghost, by the laying on of the Apostles hands, so far forth that in the consideration of his owne guilt, and of a conuincing power or deitie therein, he desired them to pray for him.

The same is also witnessed in the seruants of the high Priests who being sent with wicked malice, and cursed preiudice to intrap and betray our Saviour, were by the miraculous power of his word and workes compelled to proclaime and confesse; *No man euer spake like this man*. All these notes or markes, of the true visions, dreames, or revelations of God, are euer generally, or for the most part wanting in the forementioned kinds, which being neuer free from some suspicious note of godly ieaiousie, therefore ought not but with much doubt and difficulcy be at any time admitted. It may bee as yet further objected. How can it otherwise bee deemed, then that God himselfe is the Author of the former reuelations, since they tend vnto his glory in the detecting and punishing of so hideous sinnes? It is hereto answered, that Almighty God is able to vse and command euill instruments vnto good ends. He hath ordained the Diuell himselfe to be the common accuser of all sinnes and sinners. It is therefore no inconuenience nor repugnant vnto religion or reason, to affirme, that the Diuell himselfe, in the forementioned visions or dreames, by the commandement or permission of God, is the producer of the forementioned murders, euill facts, vnto light and iudgement. God for his owne glory permitteth the Diuell by these his wonderfull reuelations, to detect the named sinnes and sinners. The Diuell also for his owne end, and desire of their destruction, doth execute the Decree of God for their iust punishment.

But here may be objected againe, that the Diuell
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in his revelations (as is before mentioned) is not to be beleevued or credited, although he spake truth. How then may men be allowed, to admit or make vse of these his visions or dreames in this kinde.

It is hereto replied, Almighty God himselfe doth both permit and heare the Diuell when hee accuseth, as is manifest by holy Scriptures. Therefore among men, and by men also, his accusations may be heard and considered. Notwithstanding, since hee is oft a false Accuser, and the enemy of God and truth, hee may not bee credited in himselfe, no nor truth it selfe simply as in his mouth. Vpon his accusation therefore, if truth and certaintie doe declare it selfe, the force and vertue thereof, and not the accusation doth conduct, vpright men and minds, vnto proceeding and iudgement; it is not the Diuels accusation, but the truth it selfe, vnto which haply that accusation did point inquisition, that by it selfe made manifest, is therefore credited.

And thus with breuity hath the vanity both of all superstitions, and also of all miraculous waies of the detection of Witches and Witch-craft, beene in some few of their particulars generally vnmasked. There are, and may bee many more besides these, which in these, and with these, will likewise perish and vanish, being by the same rule and reason compelled vnto the golden tryall of sincere religion and affection.

The sole, true and warranted way, wherein vprightly men may walke herein before God and men, hath beene in this Treatise formerly disquired and discoursed. Therein (intelligent Reader) thou maist obserue two sorts of manifest Witches: The one is offered vnto the outward sense, in his apparent and palpable Sorcerous workes: The other is made euident by plaine demonstration out of the sacred word
of

of truth. It hath ever prevailed with vulgar custome (because most sensible of the most grosse harmes more open to sense) to cast chiefly, or for the most part, the eye and common ieaousie vpon the first kinde. The other kinde (because vsually least noted of sense, and therefore esteemed least harmefull to men) is both in the iust protraction or production thereof vnto the barre of Iustice much more rare and seldome, and also in common and vulgar obseruation is little or not at all considered.

Hence it proceedeth, that most men doe doubtfully resolute thereof; Yea, some men admire a worth therein, others esteeme it of reasonable and commendable vse, vnto the satisfaction of their curiosities, in things secret and hidden from the knowledge of man.

But since Almighty God hath more specially (as is in the former Treatise prooued) both giuen most certaine and plaine indication, and information of this kinde, by the expressed fruites thereof, and the necessary inference of familiarity and consultation with other Spirits then himselfe, *Isaiah 8. verse 19.* and hath also so oft in so diuers places iterated the great abomination, and his high detestation thereof, it is not onely the sauing duety of all priuate men to take more diligent and wary notice thereof, thereby to eschew and flye from it, according vnto Gods expresse charge and command; but it is the charge of Princes and Magistrates also, to fulfill thereby the commanded execution of Gods holy wrath and vengeance vpon it; for which pleasing seruice and sacrifice vnto him, Almighty God hath vpon the euerlasting records of his holy word fixed for euer the so memorable praise, and commendation of those famous Princes, who haue dedicated themselues vnto his will therein. As it hath bene declared by

what meanes Witches and Sorcerers, in two kindes feuerally may be manifestly charged, challenged, and prooued as certaine and vndoubted Offenders: so also how farre presumption probabilities, or matter of iust suspicion in both may blamelesly guide, and conduct vpright and equall inquisition, hath beene briefly instanced. From all which it is euident: first, that God in nature hath not shut vp in this subiect, the common intrance and doore of iudging, trying, or deciding as equally, as in other cases: secondly, that beside and beyond that way, which God hath left open vnto sensible and reasonable progresse, herein it must necessarily bee preposterous presumption to breake out, or over-reach, as also in steade of that plaine approoued and authentike walke for the tryalls of truth; the iudgement and condemnation of others, and the establishment of mens owne thoughts, and mindes, to seeke irreligious footing, in the *Labyrinth* of amazing wonderments, and reasonlesse traditions and experiments. To walke in these waies, is no better then to runne away from God, in whom to trust, though with some restraint, and coercion of our longing vaine desires, and satisfactions, is truly farre more happy then out of the conduct of his allowance therein, to inioy the fullest measure or overflow of all the most obsequious influencies of humane blisse. If true religion and pietie could settle this consideration, the common folly of misgouerned, petulant, inordinate, and intemperate expatiations in this kinde, would not onely in priuate men more vsually blush and be ashamed, but a more euen, straight, and vninterrupted way, being prepared thereby vnto iustice, would vsually bring forth a much more happy issue, then now is ordinary. Thus farre the loue of truth, which I haue euer carefully sought and studied, hath offered violence
vnto

vnto my priuate thoughts and meditations, exposing
them vnto the hazard of publike view.

As my labour is not lost vnto my selfe, and my
owne more confirmed satisfaction thereby: so if
there be therein any good vnto the common good,

I know, good men will not for the thorne,

refuse the fruite, for defect of elegance

in stile, or obscurity of worth in the

Author, quarrell with the

matter it selfe.

F I N I S.
